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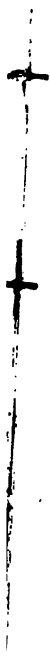
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# AFRICA UNVEILED.

2000





# AFRICA UNVEILED.

BY THE

REV. HENRY ROWLEY,

*Formerly of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.*

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"AFRICA SEMPER ALIQUID NOVI REFERT."

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WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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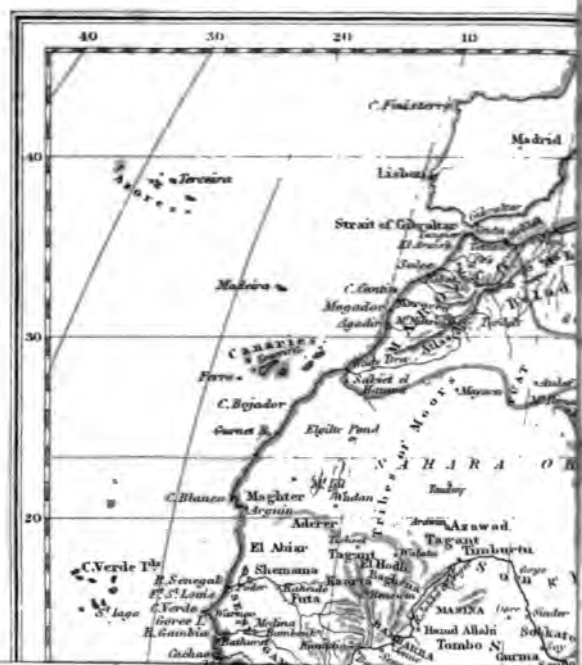


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# AFRICA UNVEILED.

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## CHAPTER I.

### GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF AFRICA.

**MANY** years ago, when I was a small boy, I recollect pondering over a map of Africa, and being greatly perplexed thereby. My difficulty was this. South of Barbary, and west of the valley of the Nile, the map described a desert which extended right across the continent to the Atlantic Ocean, and southwards to the Mountains of the Moon, below which mysterious range of hills was a blank space, reaching to the region of the Cape, which, I was told, was also a barren region. But I could not believe that this great area was a desert. It seemed to my boyish mind contrary to the providence of God, to condemn so vast a portion of the world to such a repulsive sterility, and, in my fashion, I said as much. I was told by my preceptor, a rigid but most devout old Puritan, that God knew what was best for the world, and was warned not to trouble myself with matters that were too high for me. I was silenced, but not satisfied. And my dissatisfaction was justified, for in course of time the interior of Africa, south of the Sahara, was found to be

a torrid desert, not "a barren and dry land where no water is," and "without inhabitants," but a land crowned by fertile plains, where lived vast numbers of animals, that for their sustenance required much flesh, and a never-failing abundance of pasturage; dense forests, where were "both small and great beasts"; inland seas, which in extent equalled the lakes of North America; far reaching rivers, whose waters and valleys swarmed with life; great mountains, some of which were raised so high that their summits were covered with perpetual snow; a climate which needed but the agency of civilisation to make it as healthy as any other region within the tropics; and, above all, a land which gave food and shelter to probably 150 millions of human beings; and under happier circumstances might sustain 1,000 millions.

It may be thought that this is an exaggerated estimate of the population of Africa. I do not think so. It is more thickly peopled than is generally supposed; indeed, some parts of the country are densely populated. The Shillocks afford an illustration of this. These people inhabit the left bank of the White Nile, and occupy a territory about two hundred miles long and ten broad. In 1871 they were subjected to Egypt; a census of their villages was then made, and it was proved that 1,200,000 souls had been added to the dominion of the Khedive. In the Shillock country, it is true, there is to be found everything that contributes to the exuberance of life—agriculture, pasturage, fishing, and the chase; but there are many

such districts in Africa, and few where human beings are not plentiful.

The physical geography of Africa is very remarkable, and until within the last thirty years was but little known. Various theories on this subject had from time to time been propounded by eminent men, but it was not till 1852 that the true structure of the country was demonstrated. In his address to the Royal Geographical Society in this year, Sir Roderic L. Murchison declared what were the true features of the most ancient, as well as the actual, geography of Africa. He maintained that during countless ages, anterior to the creation of the human race, the old rocks which now form the outer fringe of Central Africa, circled round an interior marshy or lacustrine country, and that the present state of this region represented the residual geographical phenomena of that primeval age. At the same time, he also showed that the differences between the geological past and present of Africa were enormous; that the lands of Central Africa have been much elevated above the level of the sea; that eruptive rocks have penetrated them in many places; that deep chasms and defiles have been suddenly formed in the subtending ridges, through which the waters have been let off to a lower level to cleave their way finally as rivers to the sea.

By one of those happy coincidences, which may more properly be called providences, that have tended to excite and maintain interest in Africa of late years, Dr. Livingstone, at the very time this theory was

propounded, was forcing his way across the continent, and, in utter ignorance of Sir Roderic's great inductive feat, had ascertained by actual observation, and beyond all doubt, that the whole of Central South Africa was at one time a vast lake country; and, furthermore, on his discovery of the Victoria Falls, had found the exact spot where, by some mighty convulsion, the rocks which there held in the waters were rent in twain, so as to permit them to escape outwards.

The Victoria Falls are rightly placed amongst the wonders of the world. The Zambezi, which at this place is nearly a thousand yards broad, suddenly disappears. It descends at one plunge into an enormously deep chasm less than a hundred feet wide. This great fissure traverses the channel of the river from the right bank to the left, and thence continues its course through the hills to the north-east for thirty or forty miles, where the river emerges into a comparatively low country, through which, with but few obstructions, it pursues its way down to the Mozambique channel. The convulsion which caused this enormously deep chasm undoubtedly broke through the barrier by which the waters of the Zambezi were dammed back in the great central lake.

The superstitions of the natives who live in the neighbourhood of these falls lead them to invest them with supernatural characteristics. They call them Mosyootunya (the sounding smoke), because dark clouds, which look like the smoke of a burning jungle, are constantly seen to hang over the broad belt

of the river, and thundering sounds are constantly heard to proceed from the falls. The sudden plunge of the river into the yawning chasm naturally produces these sounds, and the conflict between the raging waters and the walls of rock through which they force their way, produces volumes of spray which rise high above the river, and are then collected into clouds and borne before the wind. But the spray is not uniformly diffused above the great fissure, for in some places it assumes the form of great pillars, like the pillar of cloud that guided the Israelites of old, among which the sunbeams play and produce glorious circles of prismatic colour. Dr. Livingstone was the first civilised man who beheld these falls. The natives who accompanied him on his first visit to them, saw them for the first time, and were awe-struck with the awful grandeur and wondrous beauty of the scene. The roaring of the waters, the rainbow hues in the rising spray, the gorgeous tropical verdure on either side of the river, so impressed them with religious feeling, that they offered prayers and sacrifices to what they imagined to be the spiritual powers of the locality.

Recent researches have tended to show that the basin-shaped structure of Central South Africa extends northwards; but how far northwards it extends, has not yet been clearly ascertained. This, however, is certain, the physical structure of Central Africa determines that of almost the entire continent. The watershed is not, as was long supposed, a



mountain chain sending its roaring torrents on the one side to the Atlantic, and on the other towards the Indian Ocean, but is represented by a vast basin-shaped plateau, varying in height from two to four thousand feet above the level of the sea, which stretches through many degrees of longitude and many degrees of latitude, and in which the Nile, the Zambezi, the Congo, and some other rivers of considerable magnitude, have their source—immediately, in the existing lakes, like the Nile and the Shiré, or as the drains of the country, like the Niger, the Zambezi, the Congo, and the Orange river.

Africa, it is said, has always something new to show, and for many years to come geographical enterprise will find an ample recompense in the discoveries it will make; yet I think it may be safely affirmed, with regard to the physical geography of Africa, that all future discoveries will prove subsidiary to those already made. The source and course of the Congo have yet to be accurately defined; the Niam-niam districts when better known may acquaint us with many affluents that contribute to the waters of the White Nile; the country north-east of Kilimandjaro (the snow-clad mountain in East Central Africa) has yet to be explored; and the wide region west of the Albert Nyanza lake may show that the lake system of Central Africa is more extended than at present appears. But the veil has been drawn from the grand geographical features of Africa; and though future discoveries may inform us clearly of many things

which are now invested with doubt, I do not think they will greatly add to our knowledge of its physical features.

The rivers of Africa have given rise to much controversy. Theories upon their sources and courses, and upon the termination of some of them, have been propounded and hotly debated, and not readily abandoned when proved to be inconsistent with ascertained facts. I suppose there is nothing more certain with regard to any river in the world than that the Shire flows out of the Lake Nyassa. But one of the most confident and imaginative of theoretical geographers had declared that it proceeded from the Lake Shirwa (a lake without an outlet); and at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, he maintained this to be true in the teeth of one who had ascertained by actual observation that no river flowed from Lake Shirwa, and who had followed the Shire from its junction with the Zambezi to its egress from Lake Nyassa. This is but an illustration of the conflict which has raged upon the rivers of Africa. It was many years before the doubts and theories as to the course and termination of the Niger were put an end to. I once met with a man who maintained that the Niger, because at a certain part of its career it flowed northwards, emptied itself into the desert. This was long after its true termination had been ascertained; and not until some sturdy traveller has followed to its fountain the remotest stream that contributes its waters to the Nile, will the controversy upon the true source

of this famous river be ended. It is beyond my province, however, to enter upon these vexed questions. The great central plateau is to a great extent to Africa what the heart is to man—the central vital system which circulates life throughout the body. Here are found the sources of the far reaching rivers, and most of their numerous tributaries. Other streams varying in length from one to five hundred miles, like the Juba and the Rovuma, in the East, and the Cuanene and the Coanza, in the West, may take their rise outside this plateau, but for the most part they have their origin in the mountains which constitute its flanks. To a scientific geographer the discovery of the actual source of any river must be a subject of great interest, but in a brief review of this sort it is sufficient to indicate in a general way the regions whence the rivers flow.

Naturally these rivers should be the highways to the heart of the country, and to a great extent they are so. The obstacles to the navigation of African rivers are fever and cataracts. Medical science is getting rid of the one, and engineering science may lessen, if not altogether remove, the other. The Kebrabasa rapids on the Zambezi proved fatal to the carrying out of the original idea of the Zambezi Expedition; and the Murchison cataracts on the Shiré prevented the realisation of Livingstone's grand idea of floating a steamer on the Lake Nyassa; but when the real need arises, means will surely be found for the overcoming of these difficulties, which, after all, are not greater than have been surmounted in other parts of the world.

There is an error with regard to the real character of the highlands of Africa, which requires to be corrected. It is imagined by some that the great central plateau, because it is the seat of a wide-spread lake system, and is also intersected in almost every direction by rivers which have numerous departing and tributary branches, and in whose valleys marshes are undoubtedly formed, is nothing better than a huge swamp. This is an error to which travellers have unwittingly contributed. Most African explorations have had for their object the discovery of river sources. Travellers, therefore, have kept as close as they could to the rivers whose origin it was their object to discover, and they have had to wade almost as much as to walk. In the narratives of their travels, consequently, they frequently describe a very humid country. Livingstone was said by the natives to have been afflicted with water in the head, so persistently did he hunt after and cling to the watery regions; and on the cover of his "*Last Journals*" he is represented in a very undignified position, riding through a swamp on the shoulders of a man. But no one knew better than Livingstone that the swamp lands are not the chief characteristic of Central Africa; and though his wanderings led him through the watery regions, he continually expatiated on magnificent ranges of highland country, where, though water is not wanting, swamps are scarcely known. In his "*Last Journals*," when suffering from the lassitude common to the low lands, he thus recalls his recollections of these higher

regions: "When on lands of a couple of thousand feet elevation, brisk exercise imparts elasticity to the muscles, and healthy blood circulates through the brain; the mind works well, the eye is clear, the step firm, and a day's exertion always makes repose thoroughly enjoyable." He was returning to the higher lands which had brought such enjoyment to life, hoping that he should there recover from his illness, when death met him on the way.

I suppose no one will deny that the lakes determine, to a certain extent, the character of the country; that they occupy a considerable portion of its surface; that they are in some cases mere expansions of the rivers in the central districts, like Lake Tchad and Lake Bangweola, and in others occupy depressions in the central plateau, of which Tanganyika, the Victoria and Albert Nyanza, and the Lake Nyassa are examples; but south of the Sahara it is equally certain that these lakes are surrounded, and in some cases enclosed, by high table lands, which rise at intervals into mountains.

I have some personal knowledge of the highlands of East Central Africa, and my recollections of them are not less pleasant than were those of Dr. Livingstone. After leaving the river Shiré, at about 350 miles from the coast, and passing over a hill-country in which steppe alternated with broad valleys, cultivated lands, with long stretches of park-like woods, we reached, at an altitude of about 2,500 feet, a seemingly illimitable plain, which opened out to view

one of the most magnificent prospects I ever beheld. Far as the eye could see—and here for the greater part of the year the atmosphere is so clear that it does not seem to impede the vision—there extended a wide grassy plain, broken here and there by rocks of fantastic shape, verdant hills, clusters of trees, streams of water on whose banks grew lofty trees, which formed bowers of foliage that equalled in hue and excelled in grace of form any similar production of Europe; and mountains, that far and near lifted up their heads towards the pale azure of the sky, rising sometimes to the height of nearly 10,000 feet. There were no real swamps here. At the bottom of the mountains and hills pools of water sometimes formed in the rainy season, but as the rains ceased the pools dried up, and you might travel a hundred miles in any given direction and fail to find a thorough swamp. At certain seasons of the year, this magnificent country would be bright with the hues of myriads of flowers, amongst which a world of butterflies passed their brief existence; and rocks and hills were beautiful with the variegated verdure with which they were clothed. The fertility of the greater part of this vast plain was remarkable. Year by year it produced abundantly a great variety of cereals and tuberous plants, and this with no more manuring than was afforded by the ashes of the burnt upturned roots. The larger wild animals were scarce, for the population was great, and had driven them to take shelter in less-peopled districts; but the country was good for pasturage. Birds with

gay plumage were numerous, and others less gay filled the air with melody. The climate was cool and refreshing, and its effects on the system answered in every particular to Livingstone's description ; indeed, it was a land calculated to nourish the body, to gladden the heart, and to content the mind.

It may be well to supplement this not imaginary picture, by Dr. Schweinfurth's botanical description of another portion of the highlands of Central Africa, the Niam-Niam country, a district 4,000 feet above the sea. He says :—

“ The features of the woodlands are very diversified. There are trees which run up to a height varying from thirty to forty feet, and these alternate with dwarf shrubs and compact underwood. Many of the fields are marked by single trees, which stand quite apart, and which have been intentionally preserved by the natives because of their edible fruit. In some places there are low-lying grassy flats, which in the rainy months are quite impassable, because the grass grows taller than a man ; whilst in others the grass is stunted, because there is but a thin layer of soil to cover the rock below, and consequently vegetation is comparatively weak. As to the pasture lands, they seem to be intercepted every here and there with bushy and impenetrable thickets, which are either grouped around some isolated trees, or luxuriate about some high ant-hill. In the shade of these are found the splendid bulbs of the *Hæmenthus*, *Gloriosa*, *Clorophytum*, together with *Aroideæ*, ground orchids,

and the wonderful Kosaria. Upon the drier spots within the forests, or where the clay soil happens to be mixed with sand, weeds and herbaceous plants are found, which recall the flora of the northern steppes. Peeping further into the thickets which are formed in the forests, we come across great trees so thickly bound by the wonderful foliage of the large creeper *Carpodinus*, that a ray of sunlight can never pass there. Here, too, are wild vines of many a kind, the festoons of which are further burdened as they hang by *Dioscoriæ* and *Asclepiads*.

“In its general character the flora of this district seems to conform very much to what has been discovered in the table-land of Western Africa, of which the lower terraces form a narrow belt along the shore, and are distinguished for the wild luxuriance with which the African primeval forest seeks to rival the splendour of Brazilian nature. In contrast to this, the bush forests in the higher parts of tropical Africa, broken by steppes, present in uniformity perhaps the most extensive district that could be pointed out in the whole geography of vegetation. Extending as it does from Senegal to the Zambezi, and from Abyssinia to Benguela, tropical Africa may be expected to be without any perceptible alternation in character but that which is offered by the double aspect of steppe and bush on the one hand, and primeval forest on the other. On the West this is illustrated by the marked difference between the table-land and the low terraces, whilst in the interior it is exhibited by the distinction



between the woods on the river banks and the flats between the river courses."—*The Heart of Africa*. Making allowance for the difference existing in the character of the country in the immediate vicinity of the large lakes, such is Central Africa ; not a torrid desert or an unmitigated swamp, but one of the most luxuriant and productive regions of the world.

The geographical configuration of Northern Africa is generally so well known that a very brief description of it will be sufficient for my purpose. Having regard to the great natural features of the country, Northern Africa may be thus divided :—

1. Barbary, comprehending the whole of the country north of the Sahara, and west of Lower Egypt.

2. Sahara (the sea of sand), or the Great Desert.

3. The Nile region, which includes Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia.

4. Soudan, comprising the districts into which Africa immediately west of Abyssinia and south of the Sahara is divided, and which extend from Kordofan, in the east, to the mouths of the Rio Grande, the Gambia, and the Senegal, in the west.

(1) The geographical features of the Barbary States, which comprise Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, are determined by the stupendous chain of the Atlas mountains which, with its ramifications, extends from Cape Bon, on the Mediterranean, to Cape Nun, on the Atlantic, embracing within its tremendous sweep all these countries. Owing to their being so largely

pervaded by mountains, the Northern States have every diversity of surface, are abundantly watered and fertile. In ancient times indeed, their fertility was such as to be almost proverbial. Notwithstanding the low form of agriculture now practised (to which Algiers as yet is scarcely an exception), the fertility of the soil continues unimpaired, and produces the most luxuriant crops, including all the grains, and most of the fruits of England. Even in Tripoli, where the mountains approach the sea nearer than in any other part of Barbary, and in the immediate rear of which is the desert, where there are no rivers of any consequence, and lakes are unknown, and the country depends for its irrigation almost solely on the rains, a more fruitful district than that which surrounds the capital can nowhere be found.

The rivers of this region generally flow northwards or southwards. The former for the most part discharge themselves into the Mediterranean, the latter, after running distances of from one to two hundred miles, approach the limits of vegetation, and are absorbed in the desert.

The climate is far less hot than from the geographical position of this part of Africa might have been expected. As is well known, that of Algiers is so healthful that it has become a resort for delicate Europeans ; and but for their barbarous governments, and, to foreigners, generally unsafe condition, the other regions of Northern Africa would afford to invalids climatic advantages equally great.

The Atlas mountains act as a rampart against the encroachments of the desert to the north; consequently the country extending immediately south of this range is very different in its character to that which faces the Mediterranean. It partakes in some respects of the character of the desert (to the verge of which it extends), though in others it differs widely from it. The higher lands consist of a succession of broad mountain ridges of moderate elevation, running commonly east and west; the lower grounds, by which these hills are separated from each other, are valleys or plains of no great extent, in most of which there is a temporary or permanent lake, formed by the waters that flow from the adjacent highlands. The surface of this extensive country is not fertile. It is generally composed of a sandy soil, and, save in the rainy season, is almost destitute of vegetation.

(2) Sahara, or the Great Desert, forms an almost impassable barrier between Central Africa and the more civilised nations of the world. It has served almost as effectually to cut off the central regions from the ancient civilisations, as the ocean for many centuries separated the Sandwich islanders from the rest of the world. This vast sea of sand extends from the bed of the river Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the countries on the southern side of the Atlas range to the limits of the Soudan, and occupies an area of more than two millions of square miles. For the most part it is a region without water, bird, or tree, without even the semblance of vegetation.

Here and there, as is well known, there are fertile spots, called oases, having wells of water, and a vegetation which, in contrast with the surrounding barrenness, seems luxuriant and beautiful. These islands of fertility are, however, widely distant from each other, and those who traverse the desert are often exposed to terrible trials before they are able to reach them. The oases are most numerous in that portion of the desert which lies between Tripoli and Bornu and Kanem, through Fezzan; consequently this route is more frequented than any other caravan road between Soudan and the northern countries of Africa. Fezzan itself is a kind of oasis, where, amidst barren wastes and bare hills, there is generally water and vegetation. It was from this point that the Romans penetrated into Central Soudan, and the Arabs, about A.D. 780, proceeded on their mission of conquest to the same region. But though this route be less dangerous than others, the narratives of travellers serve to show that its dangers are sometimes appalling. In the more western portion of Sahara the watering places and oases are at a greater distance from each other, the wells are frequently dry, and it is not only more subject to the fearful simoon, but to furious tempests of winds, which roll the sands before them like the billows of the ocean. The destruction of human life in this part of the desert is sometimes very great. Whole caravans, each consisting of not less than 2,000 persons, have been buried beneath the overwhelming sands; and it is rarely that a caravan

traverses this region without many of its members perishing from want, thirst, or fatigue.

Travellers have drawn fearful pictures of the misery and suffering incidental to these desert journeys. Some tell of travelling through whole districts amidst and over human skeletons, crushing them at every step beneath the feet of their horses and camels ; and others describe the almost countless remains of the dead which are found in the neighbourhood of some of the wells. Probably the greater part of these were the remains of slaves. Gangs of slaves accompany almost every caravan from the Soudan, and here, as in other parts of Africa, the slave-trader's path is strewn with the skeletons of his victims.

The effects of a violent wind in the desert have been thus graphically described by an old traveller :—

“ The east wind blew with violence, and, far from affording us any refreshment, it only threatened to bring us under the mountains of sand which it raised ; and, what was still more alarming, our water diminished rapidly from the extreme drought which it occasioned. What distressed us most during this horrible day was the pillars of sand, which threatened every moment to bury us in their course. One of the largest of these pillars crossing our camp, upset all the tents, and, whirling us about like straws, threw us one upon another in the utmost confusion.

“ In the commotion of nature the consternation was general ; nothing was heard on all sides but lamentations, and most of my companions recommended

themselves to heaven, crying with all their might, 'There is no God but God, and Mahomet is His prophet!' Through these shouts and prayers and the roaring of the wind, I could distinguish at intervals the low plaintive moan of the camels, who were as much alarmed as their masters, and more to be pitied, as they had not tasted food for four days. While this frightful tempest lasted we remained stretched on the ground, motionless, dying of thirst, burned by the heat of the sand, and buffeted by the wind. We suffered nothing, however, from the sun itself, whose disc, almost covered by the cloud of sand, appeared dim and shorn of its beams. We durst not use our water, for fear the wells should be dry, and I know not what would have become of us if, about three o'clock, the wind had not abated."—CAILLÉ.

Such as the desert was a thousand years ago, such is it now, and such, I fear, it will ever be. There is nothing else like it in Africa; for though there be districts that are called deserts, like the Kalahari desert, and some parts of Namaqualand, for instance, in Southern Africa, they are very unlike Sahara. Dr. Livingstone once told me that in all his wanderings he had never seen a sandy desert until he crossed the Isthmus of Suez. The Kalahari desert, it is true, is destitute of running water, and possesses but few wells, yet it is covered with vegetation, grass, bush, and trees; and a great variety of tuberous roots and water-containing bulbs are found there. It is not by any means a useless tract of country; wild animals

resort to it, and it gives refuge to, and sustains the life of, a considerable number of human beings.

(3) The geographical features of the region of the Nile are, in their fullest extent, almost an exposition of the geographical features of the whole continent. The Nile rises in the very heart of Africa. It has for its principal fountains the great lakes identified with the discoveries of Speke and Baker. On its course it receives the waters of wide mountain districts, and runs along the edge of the great desert. Finally, it confers an inexhaustible fertility on the lowlands through which it ultimately passes ere it empties itself into the Mediterranean. Of the countries included within the Nile region, Egypt is so well known as to make any description of its geography unnecessary.

Abyssinia, though politically distinct from, has been much identified with Egypt in the course of its history. Geographically, it is as unlike Egypt as can well be imagined. It consists principally of a series of plateaus, varying in height from two to eight thousand feet, which are intersected and separated by mountain ridges. Generally, the mountains of Abyssinia are, in common with other mountains in East Central Africa, abrupt and precipitous in appearance; but the country is also largely occupied by hills, consisting of steep, rocky, and almost inaccessible ridges, having summits of a level surface crowned with trees. Many of these hills are utilised by the Abyssinians as military posts, of which Magdala, the last stronghold of King Theodore, is the most celebrated of our time. Hills of this

configuration are not uncommon in the more eastern regions of Africa; Mount Zomba, on the Shiré highlands, partakes of this character. Though the connection may not have been traced, there can be no doubt that Abyssinia represents the geographical termination in the East of the great central highland system.

The plateaus of Abyssinia have been classed under three great divisions—Baharnegash, Tigre, and Amhara. In this region, which has a mean elevation of eight thousand feet, the sources of the eastern branch of the Nile were discovered by Bruce, and from this plateau the country makes a rugged descent down to Senaar and Kordofan, which countries may be called the Nile districts of the Soudan.

The climate of Abyssinia naturally varies with the elevation of the country, from the excessive heat of the low grounds adjacent to the Red Sea, to that of perpetual spring in the province of Amhara.

Its fertility in the districts suitable for cultivation is undeniably great, and it has a considerable variety of products; but, though a fruitful land, it is comparatively fruitless, on account of the degradation and discords of them that dwell therein.

(4) Soudan comprehends the belt of land immediately south of Sahara and west of Abyssinia. It extends from Kordofan in the east to the mouths of the Rio Grande, the Gambier, and the Senegal in the west. It occupies geographically the threshold of the once unknown interior to the south, and, as we can



now see, indicates its character. When the desert is left behind, and fertility commences, every feature of Soudan connects it with the more northern portions of the Continent. There is the rugged rising ground, there the fertile valleys, well-wooded hills, plains of rich alluvial soil, and mountain districts which carry you up to the enormous table land which, unbroken, except by gentle undulations or by isolated masses of rock, gradually ascends to the equator.

This plain appears to cover the greater part of the centre of Africa south of the equator, and the soil, which is largely ferruginous, is identical in its character with that which prevails throughout several degrees of Southern latitude.

The westernmost districts of the Soudan are in their character somewhat analogous to the highlands of Abyssinia. They are mountainous, have widespread plateaus and extensive forests, and generally possess a never-failing fertility. They constitute the watershed, not only of the Rio Grande, the Gambia, and the Senegal, but of the Niger also, which mighty stream forms, with its numerous tributaries, a river system even more extensive than that of the Nile.

Of the topography of most of the States of Soudan we know but little. Dr. Barth has described them in his journey to Timbuctoo, which seems to be a mean city in a wretched country; and Dr. Nachtigall has lately returned from Bornu, the most important of the States of the Soudan, though its importance is probably owing to its being a centre of the abominable

slave trade, rather than to any other sort of superiority. Of what these travellers have said upon the geography of the Soudan, I think I have given the substance.

The leading features of the geography of Southern Africa are the successive ranges of highlands which run parallel to each other and to the coasts, so that the whole of Africa south of the equator may be said to be bounded by them. These highlands, especially in the neighbourhood of the Cape, rise at intervals into great mountains, the loftiest of which have an elevation of 10,000 feet.

From the meridian of Natal southwards, the country rises rapidly from the coasts in distinct terraces, interspersed between the highland ranges, each of which has its own peculiarity of soil and climate. There is a great deal of woodland and park-like scenery near the coast between Natal and Algoa Bay, but it must be owned that the western line of the South African seaboard is not picturesque.

The heat in the immediate vicinity of the sea in South Eastern Africa, though not extreme, is sufficient to favour the growth of the cotton plant, sugar-cane, pine-apples, and other tropical productions. The temperature diminishes as the land rises to the second terrace, which is almost destitute of trees, but excellently adapted for pasturage and agricultural purposes. Beyond this plateau, and at an elevation varying from two to five thousand feet, there is a vast plain, which embraces the whole of the interior of South Africa,

and presents almost every variety of surface and production, and merges itself in the great central table-land.

South Africa has not been regarded with much favour as a suitable field for colonisation. Its advantages have been decried, its resources doubted, and less bountiful portions of the earth have been preferred. But of late, through the representations of travellers and others, a truer idea of this fair and fertile part of God's world has obtained. Mr. J. A. Froude, who went to see for himself what South Africa was like, has given a glowing account of its natural resources. In his opinion, both for climate and natural capabilities, the country is unmatched in any other part of the world. In saying this he did not speak of the enormous mineral wealth which it contains in coal, iron, copper, gold, and precious stones, but of the productiveness of its soil; and he fortifies his opinion by that of the Surveyor-General of Natal, who says that the rough grasses thrown up by the soil, and which are burnt and wasted, are equivalent to the food of 12,000,000 of human beings; and that Natal alone, if properly cultivated, would support 60,000,000.

The Transvaal and the Neervaal, indeed, the whole country generally up to the Zambezi, are said to be equally rich in mineral wealth and in the productiveness of its soil. West of the Transvaal, however, is the Kalahari desert, already alluded to, and by all accounts the country west of it is not so fertile as the

South Eastern provinces, yet its capacity is not insignificant.

There are two other sections of Africa which have a distinct geographical position, but to which I have not specially alluded, viz., Eastern and Western Africa.

Eastern Africa may be said to extend from Delagoa Bay in the south to the Sea of Babel Mandeb in the north. It includes the Portuguese possessions, which extend from Delagoa Bay to Cape Delgado, the territory appertaining to the Sultan of Zanzibar, including the island of Zanzibar and the districts occupied by the independent, or tributary tribes, north of the Sultan's dominions. The geographical features of the coast line of Eastern Africa, south of Zanzibar, are uninteresting, being generally flat, and though verdant in appearance, it is upon the verdure of the mangrove tree that the eye rests, than which nothing can be more repulsive, when you have once made an intimate acquaintance with the swamps in which the mangrove flourishes. Here and there, however, glimpses are caught of the hill country which lies more inland. Above Zanzibar the land rises in many places abruptly from the sea, though nowhere does it present the magnificent features which characterise Western Africa. But though the coast of Eastern Africa is not picturesque, it affords greater facilities to the traveller for penetrating the interior than the west; for beyond the belt of mangrove forests, through which many rivers flow to the sea, there are fertile plains,

which carry you by a gradual ascent to the region of the great central plateau. The climate of these lowlands is unhealthy to Europeans, but less so perhaps than that of Western Africa.

Western Africa, according to its geographical signification, is that portion of the Continent which lies between the southern limit of the Great Desert and the Portuguese province of Benguela. By some it is divided according to the character of population into three grand divisions, viz., Senegambia, and Northern and Southern Guinea. Senegambia extends from the River Senegal to Cape Verga, in 10° north latitude, a point nearly equidistant from Sierra Leone and the mouth of the Rio Grande. Northern Guinea reaches from Cape Verga to the Cameroon mountains in the Gulf of Benin; and Southern Guinea from the Cameroons to Benguela, about 16° south latitude. The whole length of this portion of the Continent, following the configuration of the coast line, is about 4,000 miles, and the territory embraced by it is conjectured at about 1,000,000 square miles.

As viewed from the sea, Western Africa presents a natural scenery as grand as is to be found in any part of the world. In one region there are bold headlands and lofty promontories, clothed in richest tropical verdure; in another wide-spread plains, in which every variety of the palm and palmetto flourish in greatest abundance; while along the Gold Coast there is a continual succession of hills and dales, which culminate to the southward in mountain ranges that are

in appearance beautiful, and in proportions magnificent.

The greater unhealthiness of Western Africa is mainly attributable to a belt of densest forest, like that through which our soldiers had to make their way on their march to Coomassie, which extends inland for about one hundred miles. Where the forest has never been cleared for cultivation trees of gigantic size abound, their topmost branches interlacing and forming a canopy so dense that the light of day can barely penetrate it. Where the land has been cleared, unless it be under a continual cultivation, it is soon covered by a thick jungle which it is almost impossible for man or beast to penetrate. Beyond this forest land, however, the ground rises until it reaches the table land of the interior.

From this brief review it will be seen that, setting aside Sahara, the natural features and resources of Africa are at least equal to those of any other portion of the world within the same parallels. The climate is not inferior, the soil is not less fertile and productive, and it abounds in mineral wealth. As a gold-producing country it has been always famous. In ancient times it contributed largely to the wealth of Jerusalem, when gold was so plentiful that silver was nothing accounted of. It supplied to a large extent the treasuries of the great monarchies of Western Asia, and of the empire of Rome. During the last three hundred years the quantity of gold that has been drawn from Western Africa surpasses calculation. In Southern and Eastern

Africa fresh discoveries of gold have been lately made ; and if there be any true physical foundation for the hypothesis that the rocks whose bearings are north and south are generally auriferous, the yield of gold in these regions may prove to be even greater than that afforded by other parts of the continent.

## CHAPTER II.

THE DIFFERENT RACES OF AFRICA.—THE NILOTIC  
FAMILY.

DURING the last thirty years many discoveries have been made relating to the antiquity of man, which, some suppose, will lead us in course of time to modify, if not to throw aside our preconceived ideas as to his origin.

By extending investigation beyond the epoch at which the surface of the world assumed its present form, it is affirmed, man has been found in the first period of his career. No actual remains of this primeval human being, who is described as more ape than man, have as yet been discovered, but flint weapons which he is said to have used, and the bones of extinct animals, the flesh of which he is supposed to have eaten, have been disinterred, and upon these discoveries his antiquity and character are based.

It is, however, admitted that between this primeval man and the present race of human beings a great gulf is fixed. A change passed over the earth in the interval between them which altered the conditions of its surface. The temperature is said to have decreased until the then existing animal and vegetable world



disappeared, and for a period, far larger than our ordinary methods of calculating time enable us to estimate, man was lost sight of. Frozen out of Europe, he is thought to have migrated with his progenitors, the gigantic apes, into the equatorial regions, and that the aboriginal inhabitants of those parts of the world are his lineal descendants. When again discovered in Europe, he is described as still living in an antiquity so remote that it can scarcely be measured by years; and he does not appear to be much of an improvement upon the creature of the remoter ages.

There is, however, some conflict of opinion, as to whether mankind has been developed from one original centre, or from a number of separate centres. In favour of the latter hypothesis it is remarked that between the Gorilla and the inferior tribes of men in Africa there is a strong family likeness, and that the lowest type of man in Asia resembles the Asiatic rather than the African ape.

It will be seen, therefore, that as yet this science is still within the region of conjecture; and whatever revelations it may yet make, we may be very sure that they will be found to be in perfect harmony with the declaration of Holy Scripture that "God made man in His own image," and that "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

The Biblical account of the origin and antiquity of man, though brief, is very comprehensive. It tells us that of the three sons of Noah (whose

descent from Adam it traces), Japheth, Shem, and Ham, "was the whole earth overspread." We do not find in it any direct statement with respect to the paternity of the Africans, but tradition declares that Africa was peopled by the descendants of Ham, and Holy Scripture indirectly confirms this tradition. The sons of Ham who are mentioned in the Bible are, "Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan;" and though tradition assigns to Mizraim and Phut the honour of peopling Egypt and North Africa with their descendants, Cush is said to be the great progenitor of the true African race. The Cushites, it is true, are in Holy Scripture identified with Asiatic rather than with African localities; for Nimrod, the first of kings, and the probable founder of the Assyrian monarchy, was an immediate descendant of Cush. But tradition affirms that a section of the Cushite family very early departed from the parent stock, and after wandering about in Asia for some years, crossed the straits of Babel Mandeb, and travelled onwards until they reached the country about the sources of the Nile, where they made their abode; and whence, as from a fountain of life, issued two mighty streams of human beings, by whom the whole continent southwards was overspread. The one, it is said, travelled eastward, and laid the foundations of what are now called the Nilotic races, the other westward, and are considered now to be represented by the negro tribes, or the Nigritian family of Africans. As time progressed these families are thought to have gradually occupied the

interior, and from their mingling, races, like the Zulu Kaffirs, who, in physical characteristics, can scarcely be identified with either, are said to have sprung.

There may be difficulties in the way of accepting this view of the origin of the Africans as conclusive, yet it is more in harmony with the Scriptural record of the distribution of mankind than any other theory that is advanced.

The present barbarous condition of the Africans affords no argument against this view ; for civilisation had not made much progress on the plains of Shinar when the Cushites began their vagabond career. The difference between them and the parent stock is probably not so great as some think ; but if it were greater than it really is it might be easily accounted for. Degeneracy quickly follows upon political disorganisation. The degraded condition of many of our own countrymen who have been left to themselves for any length of time in the wilds of Australia or America is a proof of this. For thousands of years physical causes completely separated the Africans from the civilised nations of the world ; and of no people, so circumstanced, has it been recorded that, unassisted, they have been able to lift themselves from barbarism.

The Ancient Egyptians are supposed to have been of the race of Mizraim. This supposition has the sanction of Holy Scripture to this extent,—the common name of Egypt in the Bible is Mizraim, or, more fully, “the land of Mizraim.” The Copts are the descendants

of the ancient Egyptians; but as Egypt has been subject for 3,000 years to successive invasions of foreigners—Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Turks—the distinctive physical features of the aboriginal inhabitants are probably obliterated. The heads of Egyptian mummies have been examined by ethnologists, and are said to exhibit none of the distinguishing features of the true African, and it is therefore thought that they belonged to the same race as the Europeans. This, however, does not at all follow. There are tribes in Eastern Africa as unlike the west coast negro as the mummies are in their cranial formation, but the resemblance between many of the Manganja, a tribe with whom I lived for a time, and the ancient Egyptians, as portrayed on the tombs and monuments, seemed to me remarkable. The typical negro is delineated on some of these old memorials of the past, but the resemblance I noticed was to the acknowledged Egyptian type. It is not improbable that some time after the first occupation by the Cushites, the Egyptians migrated in considerable numbers from Egypt, and travelled down the eastern coast of Africa, a considerable portion of which they may have occupied. The Abyssinians, the Galla, the Somalé, the Massai, and other tribes, still further down the coast, are upon this supposition the descendants of the ancient Egyptian stock.

Of Phut it is reputed that he emigrated to the north-western provinces of Africa, and that his children occupied the regions north and south of the Atlas

range, and even spread themselves into the habitable parts of the desert.

The Berbers, who gave the name of Barbary, or Berbery, to northern Africa, are generally thought to be the aboriginal race of this part of Africa. They are certainly a primitive people ; and, notwithstanding the political revolutions to which northern Africa has been subject, they still occupy, in the country outside the great towns, the very sites which their ancestors held 3,000 years ago, call them by the same names, and still use their ancient language, which, in its structure, has much affinity with the languages of the supposed Coptic races. Where they are not under the immediate control of a foreign power, they are divided into a number of petty tribes, each of which is under the government of a Sheikh. The principal divisions of these people are the Amazigh, of the northern Atlas ; the Shallahs, of the southern part of the same range ; the Kabyles, of the Algerine and Tunisian mountains ; and the Tuarick tribes, of Sokna and certain portions of the western desert. They are still numerous ; indeed, it is calculated that they constitute at least one-half of the population of Morocco.

I suspect the Baggara, who are sometimes called Arabs, more properly belong to the Berbers. They inhabit the country which extends from Kordofan to Darfur in the south, to the districts occupied by the Dinka and the Shillocks on the banks of the White Nile. Their name signifies "neatherds," and their wealth consists mainly in cattle. They are not, however, by

any means a pastoral people, according to the ideas of pastoral life which obtain amongst ourselves; for like the Hyksos, or shepherd kings, who were the scourge of Egypt, and made a shepherd an abomination to the Egyptians, they are a war-loving, desperate race of men. They are dashing horsemen and inveterate robbers. They are daring hunters, and bring down the elephant with a weapon no more formidable than the sword. They appear to be rapidly taking the place of the less warlike natives over the pasture steppes, and will probably play an important part in the future of this portion of Africa.

The Berbers, though superior in some things to the acknowledged African races, have made no great advance in art, science, or literature. They are, however, Mohammedans, and this may account for the little progress they have made. For though Islamism may do away with some of the most objectionable practices of the heathen, it does not raise them to a higher moral or intellectual standard.

We have now to consider the different races of Africans that are comprised in the Nilotic and Nigritian families, and who are so called from the Nile and the Niger, the two great rivers with which these families are more particularly connected.

An essential unity exists between the multitudinous tribes comprising these two great divisions of the African race; yet there are also certain peculiarities of bodily conformation, and differences in the structure of their languages, and diversities of habits and customs,

both religious and social, which justify the division. Generally the Nilotic tribes are less robust and energetic than the Nigritian ; their bodily formation is more graceful ; their features less repugnant to our ideal of beauty ; they are characterised by a greater pliancy of disposition ; their languages are more expressive, and have greater powers of expansion ; and their religious and social arrangements are not so frequently identified with the extremes of the worst features of heathenism.

The varieties of the human family existing in each of these great divisions, probably equal in number the variations found amongst the people of Europe and Asia. Indeed, nothing is more remarkable in Africa than the diversities of human development which exist amongst the African tribes. This is a fact which has not been sufficiently recognised. For many years our knowledge of the Africans was almost confined to the west coast negroes, and most people were led to imagine that all other Africans were of the same type. But though the negro is an African, all Africans are not negroes. The retreating forehead, prominent jaws, and the ill-formed body, with which we generally credit the negro, is not common to the Africans.

Similar conditions of existence produce, it is said, corresponding types amongst all classes of animals, not excepting the human, and it may be well supposed that variety in external circumstances is a fruitful cause of the differences which exist amongst mankind in Africa, as well as in other parts of the world. The







AN AFRICAN HOMESTEAD.

dwellers in marsh lands differ, for instance, in many things notably from those who inhabit the highland districts. The tribes that inhabit the lowlands which adjoin the Nile, and the marsh lands of other great rivers, are, in appearance, different from the people who live amongst the crags and rocks of the interior, or on the high table lands. They have lean limbs, and long thin necks, and small narrow heads. But in districts more favourable to a higher form of human development, there are tribes who, without exaggeration, are majestic in stature, beautiful in form, and many of whom, the colour of their skin notwithstanding, are attractive in feature.

It is the custom of travellers to give portraits of individuals of the tribes they visit, and frequently their portraiture is most repulsive ; but my experience of Africa leads me to the conclusion that these selected individuals are not fair representatives of the tribe.

There are everywhere in Africa men and women who, in form and feature, are almost horrible to look upon ; but such people are not confined to Africa. Let many of our own countrymen and countrywomen be at the same disadvantage with regard to dress, &c., and they would appear equally hideous.

But in Africa you meet with most remarkable illustrations of the physical differences which exist between tribes, and sometimes when they are almost contiguous. For instance, between the fourth and sixth parallels of north latitude and the twentieth and thirtieth degrees of east longitude, we find the Niam-niam, physically a

splendid race, and the Akkah, the so-called pigmies of Central Africa.

The physical characteristics of the Niam-niam are so pronounced as to make them capable of identification amidst the whole series of African races.

"No traveller," says Dr. Schweinfurth, "could possibly find himself for the first time surrounded by a group of the true Niam-niam without being almost forced to confess that all he had hitherto witnessed amongst the various races of Africa was comparatively tame and uninteresting, so remarkable is the aspect of this savage people."

The following portrait of the Niam-niam, in the full accoutrement of war, seems to warrant this assertion:—"With his lance in one hand, his woven shield and trumbash (a kind of boomerang) in the other, with his scimitar in his girdle, and his loins encircled by a skin, to which are attached the tails of several animals, adorned on his breast and on his forehead by strings of teeth, the trophies of war or of the chase, his long hair floating freely over his neck and shoulders, his large keen eyes gleaming from beneath his heavy brow, his white and pointed teeth shining from between his parted lips, he advances with a firm and defiant bearing, so that the stranger, as he gazes upon him, may well behold, in this true son of the African wilderness, every attribute of the wildest savagery that may be conjured up by the boldest flight of fancy. I have seen the wild Bishareen and other Bedouins of the Nubian deserts; I have gazed with admiration upon the stately

war-dress of the Abyssinians; I have been riveted with surprise at the supple forms of the mounted Baggara; but nowhere, in any part of Africa, have I ever come across a people that in every attitude and every motion exhibited so thorough a mastery over all the circumstances of war or of the chase as these Niam-niam. Other nations in comparison seemed to me to fall short in the perfect ease—I might almost say, in the dramatic grace—that characterised their every movement."

- Some of the Niam-niam are given to cannibalism; and this loathsome fact, coupled with the possession of the characteristics just described, have led the Mohammedans of the Soudan, who are almost as ignorant and as superstitious as the African heathens, to associate with them all the attributes of savagery which could be conjured up by a wild and fertile imagination.

The Fans, on the west coast, are, in many things, and especially in their cannibal habits, so like unto the Niam-niam, that it is thought they are a branch of this race. The Manyema, lately described by Livingstone, who are also cannibals, are probably connected with them. This is territorially more than possible, for the distance between these tribes is, as distance is regarded in Africa, not great. If this be so, it would show that cannibalism is confined to a section of the African people, for I do not think that it has been proved against any other tribe. I knew of an instance of seeming cannibalism amongst the

Waiou, but it was superstition, not the cannibal propensity, which led to this act. A certain chief greatly distinguished himself in war against the Waiou, and the latter had such an admiration of his courage that, when they overpowered and killed him, they ate his body that they might be as brave as he. The flesh of this man was therefore eaten as medicine (*fetish*), not food; and I think it likely that some such superstition as this was the foundation of the cannibalism of the Niam-niam, and of the Fans, and Manyema also. A single individual of brutal disposition, depraved taste, and high in authority, probably degraded this exceptional act into a habit of his life, which, in course of time, became the habit of his people. Generally, there can be no doubt cannibalism is abhorred by the Africans. I saw the greater part of a tribe die of hunger, without a single instance of cannibalism occurring.

But apart from specialities, which, in one form or another, will always appertain to a savage race, the Niam-niam are men of like passions with ourselves, and possess in some respects what might be called tenderest feelings. Their affection for their wives is perhaps unparalleled among people of so low a grade. A husband will spare no sacrifice to redeem an imprisoned wife; of which characteristic the ivory traders make a good use, for whoever possesses a female hostage can obtain almost any amount of compensation.

If we contrast these people with the Akka, the pigmies of Central Africa, who live in the same region,

the difference is great, almost beyond imagination, if we consider that both races belong to the same family of men. The dwarf races of equatorial Africa have been celebrated, in prose and verse, ever since the days of Homer. But though a race of dwarfs, who were said to inhabit the districts about the sources of the Nile, was known by reputation to the Greeks three or four centuries before the Christian era, it was not until the year A.D. 1870 that their existence was actually verified. Dr. Schweinfurth is the first European who has made the personal acquaintance of these people. When staying with the king of Monbuttoo, he learnt that the pigmies were living in the neighbourhood; and one morning a Mohammedan friend of his surprised one of the pigmies in attendance upon the king, and brought him to his tent. "I looked up," says the doctor, "and there, sure enough, was the strange little creature, dressed like a Monbuttoo, perched upon Mohammed's right shoulder, nervously hugging his head, and casting glances of alarm in every direction. Mohammed soon deposited him in the seat of honour. A royal interpreter was stationed at his side. Thus at last was I able veritably to feast my eyes upon a living embodiment of the myths of a thousand years."

His name was Adimokoo, and he was the head of a small colony of his people who were located about half a league from the king's palace. The name of his nation was Akka, and they inhabited large districts to the south of the Monbuttoo (a branch of the Niam-niam); a portion of them were subject to the

Monbuttoo king. On the following day two of the younger men visited the traveller, and soon afterwards he saw a whole corps of the pygmies, who had united with the Monbuttoo in a warlike expedition.

The average height of the Akka was four feet ten inches. They are dwarfs not in the sense of the ancient legends, nor in the way of *lusus nature*, such as are exhibited as curiosities amongst ourselves, for they differ in hardly anything, except in size, from the tribes around them.

The Akka are evidently a branch of that series of dwarf races which are, with some reason, supposed to extend along the equatorial regions right across the continent. Du Chaillu, when in Ashango Land, Western Africa met with a race of dwarfs who were called Obongo. The Bushmen and Earthmen of South Africa are probably an offshoot—the pariahs, in fact—of these equatorial pygmies, for there seems to be a considerable physical resemblance between them.

The mental capacity of these little people appears to be inferior to that of their larger brethren; though with respect to the Akka and the Obongo, we have not sufficient data to say what their capability really is. That the Akka and other dwarf tribes occupy the lowest position in the scale of humanity is probable; nevertheless they are possessed of all human attributes. By what stages they have arrived at their present degraded position we do not know, but that they have descended from a higher standard of life I fully believe. There are indications of this amongst all the African

tribes, not open and manifest, may be, but secret and subtle, in their imperfect recollections of their traditions, in their religious observances, which are but the husks of what they once were, and in the many customs which identify them with people occupying a more elevated range of existence.

The varieties which exist in the Nilotic branch of the Africans may be further illustrated by a comparison between the Manganja and the Ajawa, or, as they are more properly called, Waiou, two tribes with whom I became personally acquainted. They inhabit the highlands of the Shiré, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa.

The Manganja are distinguished by high narrow foreheads, long heads, large and well-formed eyes, a nose not by any means unpleasantly expansive, cheek-bones that do not interfere with the smooth contour of the face, a jaw that is not prognathous, a small chin, and a mouth so wanting in firmness that it gives an expression of weakness to the whole appearance of the man. In stature the Manganja are not a tall race, but a small man amongst them is rarely met with. Their limbs are shapely and well-proportioned to the trunk; the length of the forearm is as symmetrical as that of an European. The large development of heel, usually ascribed to the Africans, is not common to them, except among the dwellers in the neighbourhood of swamps, whether caused by lake or river. This feature, indeed, is no more conspicuous among the Africans than among any other race. In youth the



Manganja are slim in build and loose of limb. In manhood they have a muscular development that looks formidable, but the muscle lacks solidity. After middle age those in easy circumstances have a tendency to corpulency. When walking they have not much elasticity in their gait; they are a depressed people, and they slink along, seemingly ever apprehensive of danger, and inclined to run away from it. This feeling is so far true of them that they make their huts with two doors, so that if the enemy come in by one they can escape by the other. Of course there are among them individuals who are exceptions to this general description. Amongst those in authority are men who possess a breadth of brain not inferior to that of Europeans; and there also are instances of manly, dignified deportment, and of headlong, dashing courage not to be surpassed in the civilised world.

When compared with the Manganja, the Waiyou are at once seen to be physically the superior. The head of a Waiyou is rounder, his face broader, his perceptive faculties larger, his jaws more massive, his mouth, though full-lipped, shapely and expressive of a strong will, and his eyes have an intensity of expression before which the Manganja invariably shrink. Under favourable circumstances, the Waiyou are a reckless, jovial, good-natured people, but when excited by the passion of war, they become veritable savages. The Waiyou are more burly in build than the Manganja, and vary much more in stature.

The Manganja women are more gentle in manner

and graceful in appearance than the Waiyou women. The latter are generally of large stature, full-fleshed, and sensual-looking. They are fitting helps-meet for their husbands. The former are of a retiring disposition, though when their fears are allayed and their confidence gained, they are sufficiently communicative and vivacious. As a rule, the Waiyou women are loud-tongued, but the Manganja women are not blatant. Now and then, an old, or a young shrew astounds you with the energy of her tongue, but modesty of speech, as well as of behaviour, generally characterises them. Were it not for the odious lip-ring, many of them would be really handsome. This custom of projecting the upper lip by artificial means is common to the women of the Nyassa districts. It is a frightful mutilation, inconvenient, and repulsively ugly.

The position of the women in these tribes did not appear to be inferior to that of the men. Amongst the pastoral tribes, where the men are given to war, hunting, and the care of cattle, the women are left to the drudgery of the field as well as to that of the house, and they seem to have degenerated into the slave of the man. Even with such tribes, however, this is not invariably the case; as we have seen with the Niam-niam; but where the people, like the Manganja and the Waiyou, are agricultural, no such degradation is found to exist. Men and women work together in the fields. There are, of course, occupations which are considered to be peculiarly feminine, but no sense of degradation is associated with them.

There is a great deal of error in the ideas which obtain amongst ourselves with respect to the position held by the African women. Their occupations are to my mind less degrading, and the labours imposed upon them less severe than those to which many women in England, France, and Germany are condemned. Field work in Africa is a light occupation for a brief period of the year. This work entails far less drudgery than that to which many women in Europe are exposed. The manufacture of clothing does not as with us employ hundreds of thousands of women and girls from morning to night all through the year. The African ideal of womanhood may be revolting to our sensibilities, yet it is in harmony with the actual state of things, and though it exhibits itself in different ways, the woman's influence is as great in Africa as in more civilised lands. Both Manganja and Waiou have much affection for their wives. I never heard of a man of either tribe ill-treating, *i.e.*, beating, his wife; such brutality seems unknown to them. The parental feeling is also largely developed. It is less strong with the men than with the women, and where polygamy prevails this is invariably the case. Filial affection is manifested in a remarkable degree by these tribes. It ends only with life. "Ah! my mother!" is the common expression of sorrow, and men will make any personal sacrifice for their mothers. I believe this to be true of almost all the African races.

I had more to do with the Manganja than the Waiou, and weak-natured though they are, they have

many traits of character which are very pleasing. They are generous in the distribution of food ; even when starving I have known them share the last morsel with their friends. They are hospitable to strangers. When once you are known as a friend, every village you enter is made your home. When travelling I did so without fear of being plundered, though I sometimes had property with me that in the estimation of the natives was great wealth. Of course there are natural churls and cut-throats everywhere, but with the Manganja they certainly are not numerous. Travellers sometimes have their tempers vexed by chiefs who will not speed the departing guest, but keep him as long as they can, that they may gain more and more of the good things which he possesses. I cannot, however, think this a crime which distinguishes the Africans above all people. It is but making use of their opportunities, a characteristic which we have elevated into a virtue amongst ourselves. I am very sure, however, that the desire for property is not always the motive which leads a chief to detain his guest ; for the desire to avoid the responsibility of any mischance that may be associated with his sojourn amongst the people to whom he is going, is a frequent cause of such delay. While the traveller is fretting and fuming, the chief is sending and receiving messages to prepare the way for his departure, and is immersed in all the arts of African diplomacy to avert trouble from himself. For if misfortune should befall a tribe while a traveller is

with it, those who sent him onwards are held to be responsible, rather than he. You must live some time amongst the Africans to know what they really are, and what are the motives which influence their actions. Travellers pass through the land as strangers to the people, while the people are strange to them, and thus easy occasion is given for mistrust and misunderstanding. But when you really know them, are sympathetic with them, and they know and like you, your experience is far more pleasant. I have a recollection of an incident of travel on the Shiré highlands which will illustrate this. I arrived just before sunset at a village that had not before been visited by myself or friends. It was some distance from our station, and out of the common route. But the people of this place had heard good things of the "Anglesi," and learning that I was one of them, they made me unreservedly welcome. A good hut was placed at my service; wood, water, and food were brought to me. The men and women clustered about me in perfect confidence, and the children played with me without fear. By-and-by the chief visited me. He was a kindly-natured old man, and inquired after my welfare most courteously. Soon after he left me, a messenger came to say that if I would visit his hut, so that his wife and daughters might see me, his heart would be glad. I gladdened his heart. The wife was a queenly old woman. I know no word which more properly describes her. Despite the hideous lip ring, she was good-looking. The daughters were common-place

young women, but modest. They were at their evening meal when I joined them, and a regular Benjamin's mess was bestowed upon me. I told them about England, and English women, of the differences in dress and customs, &c., and their comments and exclamations were most amusing. Presently a young man joined us; he was the chief's son, somewhat witless (the simpleton is frequently met with in Africa), but he was a great musician. He played a sort of harmonium, and sang an impromptu song in praise of the bearded white man. A more cheerful, simply pleasant evening I never spent. I saw and heard nothing that would shock refined sensibility, supposing such sensibility to be not conventionally weak.

This was not an exceptional experience, or I would not record it as an illustration of African life; it was the first of many such experiences that come to my memory, as true as the darker phases of life of which I became cognisant. I have no wish to appear in the light of a special pleader for the brighter side of the African's life, but it is right that it should be known. The revolting features of their existence have received a wide publicity, but they no more indicate the whole than the disgusting portraits of individuals represent the ordinary physical characteristics of the entire race.

Speke has given us a sketch of Mtesa, the King of Uganda, and the brutality of that one man is accepted by many as indicating the disposition of his tribe. It shows what individual Africans whose power is unrestrained may become, but such men are not

numerous. When excited by tribal animosities, or by superstitious fears, or when under the influence of superstitious feeling of any kind, the Africans will all do horrible things, but such causeless, wanton cruelty as Mtesa's you do not often meet with. The same may be said with regard to the man whom Sir S. Baker describes as wearing a spiked bracelet, with which it was his habit to claw his wives. This diabolical disposition may have been true of the individual, but it was no more true of the whole of the tribe than that the wife-beaters and kickers are the representatives of English husbands generally.

The fact is, humanity, though impaired in its highest attributes, is as a rule everywhere stronger than these special exhibitions of brutal force. For the moment the latter may work much harm, and outrage humanity almost past belief; but you find that the natural sympathy which makes us members one of another is not extinct in any family of man, and in the long run it is the master of the brutal depravity of the individual.

There are, as I have said, certain tribes included in the Nilotic districts that, in the opinion of some, should not be altogether identified with the Nilotic stock; having sprung, as is thought, from a union of the Nilotic and Nigritian families. The Zulu Kaffirs afford an example of this. They are a noble race, physically and mentally. They are tall in stature, some sections of them are the counterparts of the gigantic Patagonians, manly in bearing, and graceful in move-







KAFFIR IN FULL DRESS.

ment. They are logical in reasoning, patient in argument, and acute in observation. When they are angered their fury amounts to madness, yet they do not brood over their wrongs, but readily forget, and frankly forgive. They are warlike, and possess the finest attributes of bravery. An acquaintance of mine, when an officer in the army, went through a Kaffir war, and he said to me :—" They fought us like brave men, and when there was a truce they behaved themselves like gentlemen." In times of peace they are courteous to the friendly stranger, and liberal in hospitality. When once they have extended to you their confidence you may trust them implicitly. It is thought that these people have sprung from a union of the two great families of the Africans, and certain peculiarities in their language seem to warrant the supposition. Whether this be really so, it is, however, difficult to say, for their traditions are not of such a character as to afford reliable data as to their history. One thing is certain of them, there is no African race that surpasses them in nobility of form, in intelligence, and mental capacity.

Their habits of life are purely pastoral. Their principal riches consists of oxen; and the dignity of the chief, as well as the importance of the commoner, are both alike estimated by the number of cattle each possesses.

They are passionately fond of music, and possess considerable talent in acquiring tune and appreciating harmony. Their voices are naturally sweet and deep,

and their vocalisation partakes more of the character of sacred chanting than of secular singing.

Of the remaining sections of this branch of the African race, the Hottentots are physically the most remarkable, as they have certain features which distinguish them from almost all other tribes. When South Africa first became known to Europeans these people occupied most of the districts now included within the colony of the Cape. By the encroachments of the Kaffirs they were dispossessed of much of their territory, and by the cruelty of the Dutch their numbers were greatly reduced, and the remnant that remained in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape were almost brutalised by ill-usage and bad example.

This portion of the Hottentots has long ceased to have a distinct tribal existence; with others they form a part of the heterogeneous population of the Cape Colony. But a considerable force of Hottentots migrated towards the north-west when the Dutch began to obtain power at the Cape, and established themselves in that most sterile of all the Cape districts known as Namaqualand. The two principal divisions of this section of the race are called Korunnas and Namaquas.

The Hottentots are a diminutive race, and in contrast with the Kaffirs are ill-formed and far from handsome. They are, however, except when excited by a real or fancied injustice, a quiet, unassuming people, leading in their native state an erratic life along the banks of the Orange River. In the neigh-

bourhood of European settlements they readily adapting themselves, in dress and habits, to a more civilised existence. Many hard things have been said of the degraded character of the Hottentots, and it is probable that, during the course of a long period of time, they have been harried by the stronger natured races until they have descended from one stage of degradation to another, and have reached a physical and mental condition only one degree removed from that of the Bushmen of the Cape Colony and the Earthmen of Natal.

There are two other sections of the Africans, presumably belonging to this family, that claim mention; both on account of their character and their numbers, the Galla and the Somali. They occupy that all but unknown part of Eastern Africa, north-east of the Victoria and Albert Nyanza, and south of Abyssinia and the Sea of Babel Mandeb. They are numerous; their numbers having been calculated at 5,000,000 of souls. In bodily and mental endowments, according to the testimony of Dr. Krapf, who is almost the only authority of recent times upon these people, they exceed most of the tribes of Eastern Africa. They have a sturdy independence of character, and, until lately, have generally resisted the slave trade. When any of them, however, have been enslaved, it is difficult to reconcile them to their position; but when reconciled, they are, of all slaves, the most valuable in the Arab slave markets. Around Abyssinia they lead an agricultural and pastoral life, but more to the

south they wander about in hordes with their flocks and herds, changing their abode according to the season of the year. Like the Hyksos, they are hated and dreaded by every other people, and with good reason, for they are warlike beyond most others, and terrible in war. The Abyssinians and the Moham-medans, as well as the neighbouring heathen tribes, have, each in their turn, been made to feel this. Abyssinia has, probably, suffered more than others from these people, for during the last three hundred years it has been constantly exposed to their attacks ; and its history, for that period, is not much more than a record of their repeated inroads. Like most other nomads they are divided into numerous sections, all of which are jealously tenacious of their independence and liberties, and, as a matter of course, they are also frequently at war with each other.

Baron Von der Decken, the German traveller, fitted out a great expedition, in 1866, I think, for penetrating the country of the Galla by means of the river Juba ; but his venture ended disastrously, his steamship grounded in the river, and he and most of his party were killed by the natives. Since then no European has travelled amongst these people.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE DIFFERENT RACES OF AFRICANS.—THE NIGRI- TIAN FAMILY.

THIS family embraces the inhabitants of Western Africa. It is divided into three great sections—the tribes in Senegambia, the tribes of Northern Guinea, and the tribes of Southern Guinea. Indeed, these geographical divisions are made with regard to the ethnological peculiarities of the people, rather than with regard to any natural outlines of country. By some it is thought that the people of Senegambia are not pure Africans, and that those of Southern Guinea belong to the Nilotic instead of the Nigritian race. In complexion, form of features, and other physical characteristics, there is much more uniformity among the inhabitants of Northern Guinea than among those of either of the other two divisions, but it is very questionable if the differences between them be so great as to warrant the assumption that they do not belong to the same stock. These differences are most probably owing, in Senegambia, to some admixture of Arab blood with the pure negro element, and, in Southern Guinea, to a partial union of the two great families.

The principal tribes of Senegambia are the Julofs, the Mandingoes, and the Foulahs.

The Julofs are described as the handsomest people of Western Africa. They have, it is true, the woolly hair, the thick lips, and the black complexion of the typical negro ; but they are a tall and gracefully formed people, and their women are said to be as attractive as black women can be. In disposition they are mild, hospitable, generous, and trustworthy. Like the rest of the people of Senegambia, they are converts to Islamism ; but with them, as with other African tribes who have been won to this religious profession, their conversion is shown by the observance of certain prescriptive rites, rather than by a renunciation of the superstitions of heathenism. But though their faith rests in outward observances, it has wrought a marked difference socially between them and their heathen brethren. They are proud of the superiority which they fancy their religion has conferred upon them, and will not intermarry with the heathen ; indeed, between them and their neighbours, who cling to the old ways, there is an antipathy more intense than the ordinary tribal hatreds which exist elsewhere amongst Africans.

In their manner of life the Julofs show much simplicity. Their houses are small, and for the most part, like the vast majority of houses in Africa, of a conical form. Every man above the condition of the lowest has two houses, one in which he lives, and the other in which his food is prepared. The dress, both of men and women, consists of two squares of native

cloth (in the manufacture of which they show more skill than most other tribes of Western Africa), one of which is worn round the waist and the other as a cloak for the shoulders. They possess cattle, but they are not nomadic, and give as much care to agriculture as to their flocks and herds.

They occupy the greater part of the delta formed by the Gambia and the Senegal, but they have not much commercial intercourse with foreigners, save through the recognised agents of the European factories on the Gambia.

The Mandingoes are better known to Europeans than the Julofs. They range over a wider extent of country, and are more intelligent and enterprising. Their principal settlement is Jakalonda, near to the source of the Niger, and about six hundred miles eastward from the sea coast. They have overrun several neighbouring states, and have extended themselves over all the country between Jakalonda and the sea. They are to be found in small communities around all the European settlements on the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and as far south as Cape Messurado.

In form they are usually tall and slender, and they have the black skin and woolly hair of the pure negro; but their lips are thinner, and their noses less flattened than most other of the West African tribes. Their costume is more civilised than that of the Julofs, consisting of short trowsers, over which is worn a kind of blouse, or a large square cloth. On their heads they generally wear a three-cornered cotton cap of their



own manufacture, and their feet are protected by sandals. Many of them can read and write in the Arabic language ; and they are somewhat active in propagating their faith. But though more zealous than the Julofs in religious matters, they retain many of their heathenish beliefs and observances, and have practically more faith in them than in Islamism.

Mungo Park describes the Mandingoes as "a very gentle race, cheerful in their disposition, inquisitive, credulous, simple-hearted, and fond of flattery."

The Foulahs are much the largest and the most powerful of the three great nations of Senegambia. They are chiefly a pastoral people, and extend in their original and connected countries from the sources of the Rio Pongas to those of the Gambia and the Senegal. In the interior they are called Fellatahs. The Foulahs who live near the Senegal are of dark complexion, and their stature and appearance are similar to those of the Mandingoes of the same region. The Fellatahs are much lighter in colour, and are said to bear a greater resemblance to the Moors of the Soudan than to their brethren in Senegambia. In consequence of this dissimilarity in appearance some have thought that they are the remains of the old Numidians, or Berbers, who were driven across the desert, first by the Vandals, and next by the Saracens. But in character and language they are identical with the Foulahs, and their difference of complexion is not greater than is to be seen in other African races who are as widely scattered as these people. As a

rule the Africans who live in the highlands are of lighter complexion than those who reside near the sea-coast, or in the lowlands through which the big rivers flow. The Fellatahs are fond of war, and their armies, which mainly consist of cavalry, have extended their sway far and wide. Travellers who have become acquainted with them in different districts vary greatly in the accounts they give of their habits and dispositions. One describes them as very fine men, robust and courageous, intelligent and industrious, reserved and prudent. Another says they are naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, but their intercourse with the Arabs of the Soudan has made them less hospitable to strangers, and more reserved in their behaviour than the Mandingoes. The fact is, there is probably as much diversity in their social character and habits as in their physical characteristics. In some districts they lead a nomadic life, in others they are wholly given to agriculture, and this difference of occupation will account for much of the difference in disposition which exists amongst them.

Northern Guinea has an area of about five hundred thousand square miles, and a population estimated at not less than twelve millions. This is the home of the pure negro race. As the coast of Northern Guinea presents a great variety of natural scenery, so the inhabitants of Northern Guinea, though possessing many traits of character in common, present many important differences in condition of life and general character. In one region they live in circular huts,

which are neither better nor worse than the ordinary African hut in the interior; but in another their houses are constructed with clay walls, of quadrangular form, and are frequently two or three stories high. Some tribes wear no more clothing than meets the requirements of decency, while others array themselves in an ample raiment. Amongst the tribes that are not under European protection, which in this instance is another word for government, there are different influences at work upon the social and political condition of the people, which have in some regions a tendency to unite the scattered remains of many tribes into large and powerful bodies; and in others to break up despotic kingdoms into petty clans without power or influence. And so it has been amongst barbarous people from the dawn of the world's history, probably.

The various independent tribes of Northern Guinea are, for the most part, inferior in civilisation to those of Senegambia. In their mental character, as well as in their manners and customs, there is also a considerable difference between them and the people of Southern Guinea. I can, however, but point out the leading features of certain representative tribes, for to describe in detail the many clans of Northern Guinea would be far beyond the limits I must assign to this sketch.

The Kroos, the Ashantees, the Yorubans, and the Dahomans, are the most prominent of the various races of Northern Guinea, and fairly represent the whole.

But there is one of the least of the tribes of this division of Western Africa that deserves special mention, from the fact that it has wiped away the reproach that the Africans have never been equal to the invention of a written language; the Veys, whose territory at one time extended along the sea coast from Galinas to Cape Morat, but whose territorial possessions are now insignificant, have accomplished this. The idea of communicating thoughts in writing was probably suggested to them by the use of Arabic among the Mandingoes, and by the practice of Europeans who visited their country for purposes of trade; but the characters they use are all new, and there is no reason to believe that in this really great intellectual effort they received assistance from any other people. They laboured at it for many years until they brought it to a state of perfection sufficient for all practical purposes. Through the instrumentality of the Church Missionary Society, metallic types were cast in London, and the Veys have books printed in their own language and character. It is questionable, however, if they will be able to perpetuate this fruit of their intelligence, inasmuch as they have been brought under the jurisdiction of Liberia, where the English language is gradually prevailing over all others. But this loss will be as nothing compared with the good they will gain through being allied with that enterprising and intelligent colony of African free men.

The Kroos, or Kroomen, as they are usually called, are supposed to have emigrated to the part of the

country which they now occupy, a portion of the Grain Coast below Liberia, from a region to the north-east of Sierra Leone ; from which, it is said, they were driven by the Mohammedans of the Soudan. There is not a more interesting race, or one better known, in Western Africa. They never enslave each other, and they never enslaved their neighbours. They were the first of all the inhabitants of the Grain Coast to engage as labourers on board European ships. They are to be met with at almost all the European settlements ; sometimes, indeed, they find their way as sailors to England and America. I have seen some of them on board her Majesty's ships that were cruising in the Mozambique Channel, where, in positions inferior to that of the ordinary seamen, they invariably gained, by their industry, cheerfulness, and good conduct, the approval of their officers. In consequence of their frequent intercourse with, and employment by our merchantmen and others, the greater part of the male population of the Kroo country speak English sufficiently well to make themselves understood.

But though the Kroomen have for many years been more under the influence of Europeans than any other independent race in West Africa, they have less general intelligence than the Foulahs and Mandingoes, and less wealth and fewer arts than most other inhabitants of the Gold Coast. They have noble physical forms, and more enduring physical energy than any other of the West African races. It would be

difficult to find finer specimens of muscular development than they exhibit, or men of a more manly and independent bearing. When contrasted with some of our most stalwart British sailors, those I knew showed no inferiority in these respects. But as soon as their engagements with Europeans are ended, they return to their own homes, and invariably resume their old costume and habits. Men that you have seen dressed as smartly as any man-of-war's man, will be found two or three months afterwards, may be, with the scantiest raiment worn by the most barbarous of the West African tribes. Though they may have been for years acquainted with the habits of civilised life, such as obtains in merchant ships and men-of-war, and have adapted themselves readily to them, thus acquiring a knowledge which we might think would disgust them with their old heathen life, yet when their term of service is expired they almost without an exception return to their own land, and live as though they had never known any other mode of existence than that of their barbarous countrymen.

This, without doubt, is an evidence of great mental and moral inferiority, but I do not think it amounts, as some suppose, to an indelible degradation. The fact is, the Kroomen have very strong natural affections, and the love of the old home, with all its family associations, amounts with them to a passion. Mere human feeling does for them what religious superstition does for the Chinese Coolie. The latter emigrates but for a time ; his great hope is to return

alive to his native country, and should he die in exile he makes provision that his body shall be carried back to the land of his birth. The Krooman's heart is with his own people wherever he may be, and he takes service with Europeans with the view that he may by his earnings become a great man in the estimation of his countrymen.

Should he be fortunate enough to keep what he earns, and return home with a good stock of merchandise, he meets with a grand reception on the part of his friends. Guns are fired, dances are given in his honour, and his ears are deafened by shouts of praise. For several days he is paraded about his village in his best attire, and everything is done to make him feel that he is an important personage. But when this glorification is over, a family council is held, certain of his goods are distributed amongst his relatives, and the rest is appropriated to some object in which the family have a common interest. Every family of importance amongst the Kroomen have a sort of common stock, which cannot be disposed of for any particular purpose without the consent of the leading members of the family.

The young man who has brought this wealth to the family store then receives a wife, for whom his friends negotiate immediately upon his arrival. That is the first step toward an important standing amongst his countrymen. In the course of a few months he is prepared for another voyage, and when he again returns the same sort of welcome awaits him, and he is

rewarded with a second wife. This kind of life is followed until he is forty or fifty years of age, when he settles down permanently at home in the midst of his wives, and is looked upon as one of the fortunate men of his age. He has not only the wives he has earned by his own labour, but he probably has inherited others by the deaths of near relatives, and has thus achieved the highest ambition of his race, that of leaving behind him when he dies many wives and a great name.

In their own country the Kroomen live mainly on the fruits of the field, the cultivation of which falls usually to the lot of the women. The principal crops are rice and cassava. The latter is grown for their own consumption only, the former for their own use and for exportation. In former times the Kroomen supplied many of the slaving ships with rice, which was the necessary food of the human cargoes which they carried across the Atlantic; and having once established a market for this grain, they have managed to keep it to a great extent, though happily it is not now needed for the same purpose. The mercantile affairs of the Kroomen have not yet been systematised. In nothing do they seem advanced beyond other tribes who have less intercourse with the white man. The produce of the country is not concentrated in the hands of a few responsible merchants, as with more civilised people, but each man brings his own bag of rice, or pot of oil, or tusk of ivory, or a bundle of dye wood, and barter it away himself. Of late, however,



some improvement has taken place in these matters, and ships can get a cargo much quicker than in the olden times.

Recent events have made us more intimately acquainted with the Ashantees than with any other of the leading tribes of Western Africa ; and I doubt if our views of them have been modified to any considerable extent by the intimacy. The worst features of their character and customs have received a wider publication, and we look upon them now, as we did before our last war with them, as people who are disgraced by the foulest atrocities which characterise the heathen world.

The Ashantees are not the natives of the soil which they now occupy ; they are the descendants of a people who fled from a Mohammedan invasion of their own country, which was somewhere on the other side of the Kong Mountains, six or seven centuries ago, as it is supposed. The Fantees are evidently of the same stock as the Ashantees, for their language is the same, and making allowance for the changes which have been wrought in them, through contact with Europeans, and long residence on the coast, their physical and mental characteristics are similar. The Fantees were the first wave of the emigration which was caused by the ravages of the Moors ; they were driven onwards by those behind until the sea made further progress impossible.

It is now about two hundred years since the Ashantees began to raise their heads above their neigh-

bours, and, save when checked by British arms; their power continued to increase until they became the most famous people in Western Africa. Tribe after tribe fell under their sway; confederated states, after desperate conflicts, were crushed and broken to pieces by them, until none of the native races were willing or able to oppose them.

The military history of the Ashantees is not unlike that of the Zulus. When Osai Tutu became chief of Ashantee, his dominion was as small as that of Chaka when the Zulus made him their king. It was a standing-ground for him and his people, and nothing more. But from this base of operations he went forth on a mission of conquest, and when he died his personal sway extended over a vast extent of country, and many tribes paid him tribute. After him arose a succession of kings, all more or less warlike, who fought with varied but, in the long run, with great success, until, as I have said, Ashantee became the most powerful of all Western African nations.

The stories that have been told of the bloodthirsty propensities of the Ashantees; of the thousands upon thousands that they have slaughtered in fields of battle; of the greater numbers carried into captivity and sold for slaves; and of the multitudes of captives and others that are daily butchered for sacrificial purposes, have led many to conclude that they are in these matters sinners above all other Africans. I have no doubt that these stories have a considerable foundation in

fact, but I question if in war they have been more bloodthirsty than the tribes with whom they contended, or more given to the slave trade than their neighbours ; and I hope to be able to show that their human sacrifices exceed in number those of other tribes, not because they are more athirst for blood, but because their heathenish beliefs have a more powerful influence on their lives, and also because throughout Africa such sacrifices are in their magnitude regulated by the supposed greatness of the state, and its comparative strength and power.

The results of our last war with them may have tended to destroy their military prestige, and to inflict upon them a humiliation from which it is doubtful if they will ever arise. Whether the breaking up of this strong kingdom would prove beneficial to the country at large, would depend upon the character of our policy. They alone of all the people of the Gold Coast have shown heroic capacity ; and unless our hand is heavy on the tribes that were tributary to them, but are now released from subjection, they will soon be at war amongst themselves, and "confusion worse confounded" will be the result.

The Ashantees are not an industrious race: a people given to war seldom are, but they are skilful in the manufacture of gold ornaments. Their country is said to contain a vast amount of gold, and they fabricate cotton cloths that are superior to the generality of African manufactures. The houses of the Ashantees, like those of some other of the tribes of the

Gold Coast, are different from those found in almost every other part of Africa, being rectangular in shape, of considerable dimensions, and many of them more than one storey high. Through the Moors of the Soudan, they keep up a considerable commerce with the interior of Africa, their chief exports being gold, **ivory**, and the gura nut. This nut is described as a species of bean; it is highly prized by the Mohammedans for its tonic qualities, and, like the betel-nut, if it be not the same as the latter, is masticated to allay the sense of hunger during periods of fasting, and on long journeys when food is scarce.

Yoruba, which lies to the west of Benin, the most easterly province of the Slave Coast (so called from the great number of slaves which were exported from this part of the country), and between it and the kingdom of Dahomey, is an extensive region, which extends from the sea coast to the Niger. In days gone by this great province was united under one king, but it has long since been broken up into many petty states, which are bound together by no ties, friendly or political. This deterioration is common to the west coast, and is owing partly to the disorganisation produced by the slave trade, and partly by the invasions of the Fellatahs, more than fifty years since. The principal seaport of Yoruba is Lagos, which since 1852 has been under the jurisdiction of the British Government, and is now one of the most flourishing commercial ports in Western Africa.

Yoruba would scarcely afford a good field for illustrating the different races of Africa, but for one circumstance—the fact that a centre of life and order, big with brightest hope for the future of this country, has been formed in a wonderful way in the very heart of the country. About sixty years ago a few Yorubans took refuge from the slave-hunters in a great cavern on the banks of the river Ogun, about seventy-five miles from the coast. At first they were afraid to venture far from their place of concealment, or to cultivate the ground. They lived upon wild berries and roots, and anything they could find fit for food in the immediate neighbourhood of their hiding-place. In course of time they were joined by others, and as they increased in numbers, they engaged in agriculture, built houses, and under the guidance of the master-mind amongst them, a man named Shodeke, these fugitives, the remnants, it is said, of more than a hundred towns, formed themselves into one government. They named the country Abbeokuta (Understone), in honour of the cavern where the first fugitives found shelter. Fresh arrivals continually added to their numbers, and they have continued to increase, until their population is now estimated at not less than 200,000.

The kings of Dahomey have watched Abbeokuta with an evil eye, and have more than once tried to destroy it, but there was a strength in the little state which they have been unable to cope with. In 1839, some of the freed men at Sierra Leone, who had

formerly been taken as slaves from Yoruba, and who had been Christianised and educated, and by their industry had acquired a little money, purchased a small coasting vessel, and visited Badagry and Lagos for trade purposes. Here they met with people whom they knew before they were enslaved, and heard about Abbeokuta, and the stand it had made against the slave trade. When they returned to Sierra Leone, and told the story of this wonderful little state, many of the freed people, who were Yorubans, resolved to return to their native land, some with the hope of bettering their worldly condition, others with the desire of seeing their relatives again, and others with the higher motive of making known the blessings of the Gospel to their heathen countrymen. European missionaries from Sierra Leone and England followed these emigrants, and the result was an influx of intelligence and power to Abbeokuta, which gave new life and energy to the whole community.

When, therefore, the king of Dahomey attacked Abbeokuta, he met with an unexpected resistance. The Abbeokutans had been forewarned of his intentions, and had been trained to withstand his assaults by an American missionary who was residing with them at the time; and so valiantly did they behave themselves, that the Dahoman army was completely defeated. This is not the only instance wherein they have been protected from Dahomey by the same superintending Providence, which, for high purposes, I doubt not, preserved Abbeokuta in the days of its infancy.

The progress of Christianity and civilisation along the west coast, since the abolition of the slave trade, has been remarkably great, but nowhere greater than at Abbeokuta. As an indication of the changed condition of things in this part of Africa, it is sufficient to mention that at Lagos the imports are now estimated at more than £400,000, and the exports at more than £500,000.

The Yorubans possess the physical and intellectual characteristics of the pure negro.

These characteristics also belong to the Dahomans, than whom no people are more infamous throughout Western Africa. The territory of Dahomey lies between that of Ashantee on the west, and Yoruba on the east, and extends from the sea coast on the south to the famous Kong mountains on the north. Its area is said to be about 30,000 square miles.

The history of these people, in so far as it seems to be known, is soon told. They made their first appearance on the sea coast in the early part of the 18th century, as an invading people, when they overran all the territory which lay between them and the sea. A few years afterwards, angered by the interference of some European merchants in the local affairs of the country, they invaded the coast districts again, and Whydah, the principal settlement on the coast, was taken, and all the European factories in the neighbourhood destroyed. Since then they have held possession of Whydah, and until Lagos came under

the British protectorate, they exacted tribute from other seaport towns within their reach.

The Dahomans are a horde of banditti rather than a nation, and became so through the slave trade. Few of the arts and industries of life are cultivated by them; indeed, the occupations of peace are condemned by the king, who is an unmitigated despot, as tending to destroy the power of the state. The whole community, not excluding the women, for the Dahoman amazons are an infamous reality, is used for military purposes, to which everything else is made subordinate. Every year the Dahomans invade some district within their reach, and kill or enslave the people. The country about the Dahoman territory, though a fertile land, has become an unproductive desert. Their wars, or rather annual slave-hunts, are made to furnish the king with funds, with which he supplies his army with arms and ammunition, and provides for the expenses of his annual customs, when people are sacrificed and his wealth is squandered.

There are now few pure Dahomans. Those who may claim to be of the race are the king's family and the chief military officers, but even these are not of pure descent, for the harems of the king and of his great men are filled with women from all parts of the country, and are constantly replenished with the fruits of war. The general population is made up of various tribes that have been forced into, or have willingly accepted the Dahoman nationality.

The inhabitants of Southern Guinea are claimed for



the Nilotic branch of the African race, and the proofs of their identity with this great family are drawn from physical resemblances, mental constitution, the sameness of their customs, and the affinities which exist among their dialects. But notwithstanding these resemblances, I doubt if the people of Southern Guinea have a more marked relationship to the Nilotic than to the Nigritian family.

There is much diversity in the habits, character, and circumstances of the peoples of Southern Guinea. This diversity arises from various causes, but mainly from the presence of the Portuguese, who established themselves along the coasts of this part of Africa, at a very early period of their discoveries. Their presence for nearly four hundred years has done much to modify the character, and habits, and circumstances of the tribes. They have produced the same changes amongst the native population in the west as in the east, for their policy on both sides of the continent is the same. They have broken up the old native governments, and have divided them into an almost indefinite number of petty communities, which have no political relationship to each other, and over which they exercise a rigid suzerainty. Theoretically their form of government is excellent. There is a Governor-General, having under him the governors of provinces, and, subordinate to them, lesser notabilities, who are the commanders of districts not yet raised into the dignity of provinces. In alliance with these chief representatives of the Portuguese power, are judges

and magistrates, and a sufficient military force to protect the colonies from the incursions of the tribes of the interior, who have not yet submitted themselves to Portuguese authority. The instructions which these governors, major and minor, receive from the home government are admirable. The blessings of civilisation and Christianity are set forth in eloquent phraseology, and the duty of extending such blessings urgently enforced. Slavery, it is true, is recognised, or was until the other day, as a necessity for the well-being of the colonies, but the slave trade is denounced, and the laws which regulate the conduct of the master towards his slave are so benevolently framed, that, studying them alone, it would be difficult to escape the conviction that the Portuguese slaves in Africa are far better off in every way than their free brethren. Theoretically, nothing can be better than the position, the policy, and the character of the Portuguese in Africa. It represents a highly-civilised Christian people using their superior knowledge and capacity to develop the resources of the land, and to raise from degradation the barbarous races that have been brought under their power, or within the scope of their influence. Practically, nothing can be worse or more humiliating: the real position of the Portuguese in Africa affords an illustration of the sad results of great opportunities neglected and power abused, perhaps without a parallel in the world. They have no real hold upon the interior, and but a few important positions on the coast. What has produced this

they have lost in nationality they have gained in wealth and civilisation, for they are probably the most prosperous and the most intelligent of all the people of Southern Guinea. Of the inland tribes of the Pongo country the Bakeles are the most numerous. They, like the Banaka, swarmed into their present position from some far distant part of the interior—from some of those regions probably which Livingstone has lately made known to us—about sixty years ago. They took the places of the Shekanis, who, through the slave trade and strife amongst themselves, had become the poorest and most debased people in the whole country. Compared with the Mpongwe, and some other tribes, the Bakele occupy a low position in the scale of humanity and civilisation. They are small of stature, and of ungraceful proportions. They cultivate the soil to provide for their own wants, have a few domestic animals, and are fond of hunting.

Of the people that now occupy the territory once comprised in the native kingdom of Congo, and of the people in Angola, I shall have to speak when tracing the history of Christianity in Africa.

There are many other tribes in Africa whom I have not even named, but those I have indicated represent, I think, the conspicuous features of the whole of them. There are great differences existing between them, both physical and mental, yet if we gauge souls we find that they differ from one another, and naturally from ourselves, essentially in nothing. The diversities which exist between them, and between

them and ourselves, are varieties of detail, and are attributable to secondary causes. They exhibit no feature of character, no matter how revolting, for which we cannot find a counterpart amongst ourselves ; and though many would deny that there is relationship, you soon find that the sympathies of a common nature bridge over the chasm, which at first seems to exist between you and them on account of mental and physical differences.

## CHAPTER IV.

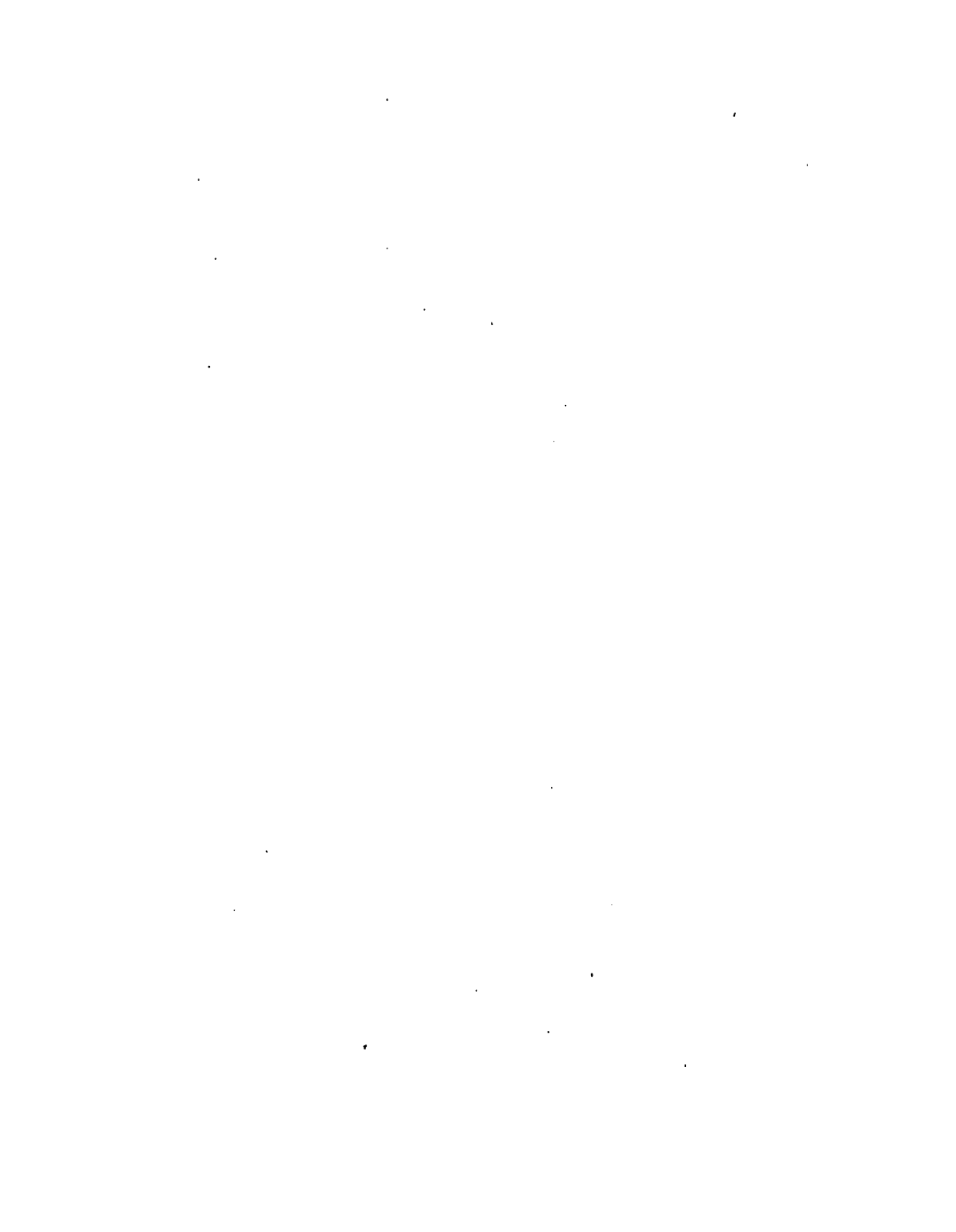
## DIFFERENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT IN AFRICA.

It is affirmed by some that the Africans are incapable of living in self-governing communities. This may, to a certain extent, be true of the Africans who live in lands where they have been bondsmen, or in parts of Africa where they have been brought under a foreign control. Such people afford no fair criterion of what an African is capable in the way of self-government. Those who are slaves, or are the descendants of slaves, living in a strange land, and under institutions foreign to their race and character, are at a disadvantage which it is not easy to estimate. Free men they may legally be, yet they have sustained a loss which makes them frequently the inferiors of the semi-savage tribes who have never lost their freedom. The following passage from Mr. Gladstone's "Vaticanism," though applied in a different sense to that in which I use it, is nevertheless applicable to my purpose. He says, "Among the many noble thoughts of Homer, there is not one more noble or more penetrating than his judgment upon slavery. 'On the day,' he says, 'that makes a bondman of the free, wide-seeing Zeus takes half the man away.' He thus judges, not because the slavery of his time was cruel, for

evidently it was not, but because it was slavery." I can testify of my own personal knowledge of Africans, free and enslaved, that this is sadly true. The best half of the man, that which makes him really a man, as distinguished from the mere brute, is taken from him when he is robbed of his liberty. This is no fancy, it is a reality which is recognised even by the Africans themselves. The emancipated slaves of the West Indies and of America afford no fair example of what the Africans are really capable. They live in the lands of their thralldom, and in the presence of those who have been their masters. It will take many years to free them of the mischief which slavery has wrought in their natures. Had the Israelites after their emancipation remained in Egypt, in nature they would have been bondsmen still. So it is with the free coloured men of the West Indies and America. Their associations tend to keep alive, not only the remembrance, but the degradation of the past, and to check nobler aspirations. As a matter of fact, however, they have not had a chance of showing in these lands what they could do in the way of self-government; and, probably, it will be well for them if the opportunity never occurs. It could only be brought to pass by violence, and the result would be a state of things like that which exists in Hayti, where, under the guidance of a few men who were far in advance of their fellows in force of character and intelligence, the negro slaves revolted, and, after a fierce and sanguinary struggle, achieved their independence. Slaves in

nature still, yet with wildest ideas of liberty ; barbarous almost as the semi-savages of their own native wilds, yet regarding themselves as the equals of all men ; ignorant, yet hating in others the power which knowledge gives, it is no wonder that they have burlesqued every form of government, and by their misrule and perpetual discords, excited the pity of the friends of their race and the derision of their enemies.

Liberia affords a far better proof of what Africans, emancipated from slavery, under more favourable circumstances than exist in Hayti, or that could well exist in America and the West Indies, can do in the way of self-government. Under the fostering care of the American Colonisation Society, a number of people who had been slaves, or whose parents had been slaves, were established at Liberia, a strip of the west coast, lying between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas. In 1847 this little community formed itself into a republic, after the model of the United States Government. Since then its numbers have greatly increased by repeated immigrations from America, and by accessions from the native tribes. From time to time, as circumstances required, the boundaries of the Liberian territory have been enlarged, not by conquest, but by purchase from the owners of the soil. Towns, villages, schools, churches, hospitals, and public buildings have been erected ; the affairs of the republic are prudently administered ; laws are enacted, and generally obeyed ; taxes are imposed and paid, as willingly as taxes are paid in any other part of the world ; and







SHILLOCKS CROSSING THE NILE.

national life seems to be a reality, not a sham. The true test of the condition of Liberia in the estimation of many would be its commerce ; and judged by that standard, it does not fail. Palm oil, cam wood, ivory, sugar, coffee, and some other products, are now exported to the value of 500,000 dollars a year, and the imports are of corresponding worth. Up to this time the progress of Liberia, if not so great as was at first expected, has nevertheless been good. It has justified the hopes of its friends, and silenced those who were loud in prophesying its failure.

But the only satisfactory proof of the capacity of the Africans for self-government is to be found amongst the tribes in Africa who have not been brought under foreign influence. As I have said, the original form of government in Africa was certainly the patriarchal, but there, as elsewhere, we now find many forms of government, which vary from a despotism, where the expression of the chief's will is the only law, to a state of things where prompt action becomes impossible, through the privilege of unlimited debate which is accorded to almost every member of the community.

From what I can learn, I imagine that until within the last few years the Shillocks and the Bongo, who occupy the Nile territory, afforded the best examples of the most perfectly regulated form of patriarchal government in Africa. The former were given almost wholly to the care of cattle, the latter almost exclusively to agriculture. The territory of these tribes was divided into well-defined districts, each district having

its recognised patriarch, and each village its head man. Such a government implies a certain amount of despotism (all paternal governments do), but as a rule the rights of each family were respected, and traditional law, rather than the arbitrary exercise of the chief's personal authority, governed the entire land. From their point of view these tribes were prosperous and happy under the government which they had maintained for probably three or four thousand years. The Shillocks had cattle to their hearts' content, the Bongo fertile fields. That discord and strife was not unknown to them is certain. Local jealousies and human passions are nowhere dormant, and they were frequently at war amongst themselves. The one fatal weakness of this form of government, however, is this, it forms no defence, adequate to the entire community, against a foreign enemy. When attacked from without by the Egyptian forces, the various districts did not unite to form an effective warlike force, each fought for itself, and they were, consequently, defeated in detail. The Bongo, who were a peaceable, docile people, have ceased to exist as a nation. Their territory is divided between the principal men of Khartoum, who have covered the land with fortified places, called Seribas, which they use as bases of operations against other tribes; and the remains of the people who have escaped slaughter or slavery, have been reduced to a most debasing vassalage. The Shillocks have not yet reached that stage of destruction, but it will not be long, it is feared, before they arrive at it. The blighting influence of

the Turk is upon them. Everything that gives this primitive people their most striking national characteristics is being fast destroyed. They have become sullen and indifferent, and under their new and hard task masters, who take away all that is best from the tribes they subdue, and give nothing but curses in return, they will soon be undistinguished from the rest of the degraded, tax-worn, bitterly-oppressed tributaries of Egypt.

Of the free-and-easy form of constitutional government, I think that possessed by my old friends the Manganja afforded a fair example. This government seemed framed to enable all under authority to avoid the burden of responsibility. Given wholly to agriculture, they did not live together in large communities, but were scattered over the country in small villages. Each village had its head man ; over districts, containing many villages, was a subordinate chief, and over all was the Rundo, a supreme chief. But over him was an imaginary creature, a spirit, that had his abode on the top of a mountain, and to whom, as supreme judge, the Rundo referred all cases that involved in their decision a serious responsibility. The action of this kind of government was something like this. Trouble arose in a village, for which very much talking was found to be no cure. The head man was appealed to, but instead of exercising the authority with which he was invested, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he shifted the responsibility of a decision on to the chief of the district. To bring this to pass

involved long continued negotiations and very much more talk. Compelled to admit the appeal, the chief strove to make some of his peers share the weight of his responsibility. They almost invariably objected, he still insisted, this involved much more negotiation and abundant opportunities for debate (and these people debated with an eloquence that would have dumbfounded many of our own inveterate orators), and at length, finding it impossible to make things pleasant for all parties, the Rundo was resorted to. His policy was to shelve the question if he could; but if, after all his manœuvring, he was compelled to listen to the case, and no compromise could be effected, but a decision must be given, then the affair was referred to the spirit at the top of the mountain, whose judgment was given through the medium of a woman appointed to that service. It was supposed that the spirit appeared in a dream to her, and she delivered judgment in accordance with the supernatural intimation. Government under such circumstances was not very effective; and it said much for the general docility of these people, that they went on, for generation after generation, growing crops, elaborating laws (for they love law-making) which were seldom really enforced, amplifying their customs until their ceremonies were most intricate, with no rebellion amongst themselves. And so they might have continued for some time longer, but for famine and the Waiou. The famine smote both tribes, but the Waiou, being the more prompt in action, kept themselves

alive by despoiling the Manganja, and eventually they occupied their places.

But government in Africa is not always so essentially weak : that of the Zulus is strong enough to satisfy the aspirations of Thomas Carlyle. It was not always so. At the beginning of this century the Zulus were living very much like the Shillocks, though probably given rather more to war. They were pastoral in their tastes and patriarchal in their government. Divided amongst themselves they were collectively weak, but now they are collectively strong. They are paramount amongst the South African tribes, and owe this pre-eminence to the commanding energy and ability of one man—Chaka. Had this man been a European, he would certainly have been surnamed “the Great,” but being only an African savage, he is distinguished by a less complimentary name. Indeed, the resources of the English language have been taxed to discover epithets sufficiently strong to denounce his character and proceedings. What are the facts, and the results of his life?

When he was born his own people were the least amongst the Zulus. They were few in number, and their territory was insignificant in its extent. Chaka was the son of the chief of this little clan. From some extraordinary circumstances which, it is said, attended upon his birth, he was regarded by the people as the possessor of superhuman gifts. Probably his mother, in her ambition for her child, suborned the medicine men to fabricate a lying wonder in his behalf. As he grew to man’s estate, however, he did not disappoint

the expectations that had been formed of him. In all deeds of daring, and in enduring energy, he excelled those of his own age. It is a dangerous thing amongst such a people for any one related to the chief to be so distinguished. His reputation excited the jealousy of his father, and he had to fly from his home to save his life. He found refuge with a neighbouring tribe, and for some years he was in exile. During this period he was somewhere brought in contact with Europeans, and became acquainted with the formation of soldiers into regiments. When he was thirty years of age his father died, and by the aid of the friends that he had made he became chief of his tribe. After putting to death all whom he supposed hostile to him, he made war upon, and quickly subdued, the tribes in his immediate neighbourhood. Then he abolished the old traditional laws, and made his own will law in all things. His next step was to make the whole of his people subservient to the production and maintenance of an army. He marshalled his troops into regiments, which were formed into three divisions, a contingent from each forming part of every force that took the field. He abolished the ordinary bush-fighting, and made his soldiers fight at close quarters; and for the slender assegai, which was thrown from a distance, he armed them with a short, stout stabbing spear; while for defence he supplied them with a large shield made of buffalo hide. His discipline was severe. The loss of the spear was punished with death; and retreat from an enemy, even when compelled thereto by superior

numbers, was visited with the same penalty. In carrying out this discipline he was relentless. His own residence was called "the place of slaughter," from the fact of his having, on one occasion, ordered one of his regiments, with the wives and families of the men composing it, to be massacred for having been defeated in battle. They had fought bravely, but retreated on being overpowered by numbers. His soldiers therefore had no alternative but to conquer or die, and, as it was more satisfactory to die in battle than to be butchered in dishonour, they fought with a desperation that almost invariably gave them the victory. In a few years Chaka made himself master of nearly all south-eastern Africa, from the Limpopo to the Cape Colony, including Natal, the Transvaal, and a large portion of what is called the Orange Free State; that is to say, he brought the whole of the country under his power for five hundred miles in every direction from his own place of residence. Thus, from the chief of a petty tribe, containing probably not more than two or three thousand people, he became the ruler of an empire that could furnish at least a hundred thousand fighting men.

Of course such a result could only be obtained by such a man at the cost of much bloodshed and cruelty: but, taking his possibilities into consideration, I doubt if he did worse than great conquerors nearer home. I am sure he was not more merciless than were some of the Asiatic potentates in their career of conquest.

As he grew old the worst features of his character manifested themselves. Having satisfied his ambition



for war, he exercised his despotic power on those who had become "his people." His proceedings during this period of his life were, without doubt, brutal and bloody ; but, judging him, I say, by the standard of his possibilities, he is as worthy of being called *Great* as most others who bear that title. After reigning for twenty-five years, he was murdered by his brother Umslangaan and his party in 1828 ; and these, a few days afterwards, were slain by Dingaan, another brother, who became the second great chief of the Zulus.

Many rejoiced at Chaka's death ; but the Zulus cherish the memory of his greatness. They still swear by the terror of his name ; and have made his war song their national anthem. And he was certainly worthy of being thus honoured by them, for out of an undisciplined rabble, he organised an army which has proved irresistible in every encounter with natives ; out of a number of petty and conflicting clans, he made an empire which did not pass away with his death, though its extent has been limited by the encroachments of Europeans ; and the influence of his life has extended far beyond the limits of his own dominions. He trained up a race of captains, who, in different parts of Africa, have shown themselves to be apt disciples, both in warfare and in government, of their renowned master.

Mosilikatsi, is a name almost as much known in Africa as that of Chaka. He was one of Chaka's generals ; but being ambitious of supreme power, he made use of his opportunities, and marched away with

one of Chaka's armies to the north-west, where he put into force the art of war he had learnt from his master, and subjugated and destroyed, until he became the chief of a great nation. His people are known as the Matabele.

Manikoos was another of Chaka's generals, who became a paramount lord. He was sent with a large force to drive the Portuguese from their possessions at Delagoa Bay : but as spears were found inadequate to cope with forts and guns, he failed ; and not being willing to return home and be slaughtered for his failure, he proposed to his soldiers that they should make a kingdom for themselves, and to this they gladly consented. The result was, the speedy subjugation of the tribes who occupied the country between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi, and the pre-eminence of Manikoos and his people, who, near to the Zambezi, are called Landeens.

Sebituane was not actually one of Chaka's men, but he adopted his system of war and government, and raised his tribe, the Makololo, into great power.

The proceedings of Chaka and his imitators may not command our sympathies. Strongest language has been used to stigmatise them ; yet, in principle and mode of action, they have acted like all the men, from Alexander downwards, who have changed the course of the world's affairs by destroying the old and weaker forms of government, and setting up something stronger, and in the end better calculated to advance the interests of mankind. I believe Chaka's

influence will continue to be felt until most of the tribes, independent of our rule, south of the equator are affected by it.

Cetywayo—pronounced Ketchwayo—has lately succeeded Panda, who succeeded Dingaan, as supreme chief of the Zulus. He is a man of considerable ability, and much force of character. He is proud of the military traditions of his family, and especially of the policy and deeds of his uncle Chaka. But though his own disposition is warlike, and the Zulus are impatient of peace, and desirous of some great military achievement, he is too prudent a man to provoke the hostility of Great Britain. He clearly perceives that the times are changed since Chaka was able to overcome all against whom he went; that the policy and force of Great Britain have become the more powerful. Nevertheless it is well known that the Zulus have been arming themselves with guns, which they import through Portuguese territory, that they manufacture gunpowder, that they are angry with the Transvaal Republic, and it is not unlikely that they may venture upon a trial of strength with that rising state.

An interesting report was recently presented to Parliament, which gave an account of the coronation of Cetywayo. With the view of strengthening his position against all other aspirants to the throne, and to prevent the dreadful slaughter, usual on such occasions, of all persons suspected of not being cordial supporters of the new king, the chief men amongst the Zulus, and Cetywayo himself, requested that the ceremony of his

coronation should be performed by Mr. Shepstone, who is secretary for native affairs in Natal. The Government of Natal acceded to this request, and furnished Mr. Shepstone with a suitable escort of Europeans and natives. On his arrival at the capital of the Zulus he was cordially welcomed, and he was instrumental in getting the chief and his councillors to consent to new laws with respect to capital punishment for witchcraft and other offences, which virtually constitute a Bill of Rights. These laws were, with the consent of Cetywayo, publicly proclaimed before he was crowned; but I very much question if they will take immediate effect. Reforms of that sort come of conviction rather than from an outside pressure, and now that Cetywayo is king, should he imagine that any of his subjects are disaffected to him, should he, with or without reason, be suspicious of or angry with any of his people, the old order—spear and spare not—will be given and promptly executed, the new laws notwithstanding. When irresponsible power is held by a man who at best is but a large-brained semi-savage, horrible results will occasionally follow. The proceedings of such men will not bear looking into. Dingaan and Panda did things that are almost incredible on account of their cruelty, and though he may be more prudent in his dealings with the English, I question if Cetywayo, in his dealings with his own people, will be much more scrupulous than his predecessors.

Nevertheless, there are many influences at work to mitigate the evils attendant upon such a barbarous

despotism. The chief may have the power of life and death ; he may, if he so wills, confiscate the property of his subjects to his own use, but he is not altogether without restraint. The belief in witchcraft, though the cause of much injustice and suffering, is not an unmitigated evil ; for the fear of it is as powerful with the chief as with his meanest subject, and acts as one of the most effectual checks upon the indiscriminate, or unpopular exercise of the chief's prerogatives. It serves, indeed, as a sort of substitute for the effects of public opinion in more enlightened lands.

Of the remaining people of South Africa, the Bechuana, the Amaponda, and the Amaxosa are the most numerous. Each of these tribes consists of several families that have distinct names. The Basutos and Barolong, for instance, are clans of the Bechuana. The former are now British subjects, for Moshesh, their chief, wisely placed himself and his people under the protectorate of Great Britain, rather than continue an unequal contest with the Orange Free State. The Barolong, whose capital is Thabanchu, are still independent in name, but they are surrounded on all sides by Europeans, and it will not be long before they follow the example of the Basutos. The government of these various tribes is, where they retain the power of exercising it, patriarchal. The Rev. G. Mitchell, who has for some years been a missionary at Thabanchu, thus describes the government of the Barolong :—

“ All the people call the chief father ; and all the

cattle and things that they possess belong to him according to their laws ; and the chief calls all the people, without distinction, his children ; and on special occasions expects them to support him with cattle, or money, or corn, as the case may require. He also, in emergencies, acts as their chief priest, captain-general, lawgiver, and judge. He sits daily, the whole day, in his court, to hear and decide cases that may be brought before him, filling up the spare time by some manual employment, such as sewing and cutting out karosses.

“The chief, however, beyond his official position as above described, takes very little trouble in the government of the people. The burthen is borne principally by the petty chiefs and inferior heads of families. The petty chiefs act as the lords over their own part of the country or town, being in subjection to the great chief ; and the heads of families, or inferior chiefs, act as the magistrates of the petty chiefs, they being in subjection both to them and the great chief. By this chain of management, the chief governs and influences the whole tribe ; and by it sends and receives all messages, and informs himself daily of what is transpiring in every part of his country.

“The Barolong have no constitution corresponding to our parliamentary system. When, however, a question of national interest arises, the chief calls together the whole tribe. The day is fixed, but the business of the meeting remains a secret until the tribe has assembled. Then it is published by a principal councillor ;

and the petty chiefs stand up in order according to their rank, and express their several opinions upon it. Only one stands up at a time, and no one is allowed to speak twice on the same occasion. The speaking may go on for three or four hours, until the chief is tired or has heard enough. Then, after the last speaker, he will interpose, in a few words thank them for their counsel, and, after a short pause, decree what every one must do, or proclaim what he himself purposes doing, as the case may be.

"In these assemblies the people cluster together behind the chief, sitting on the ground, and ranging themselves in the shape of a semi-circle. They observe great quietness and generally good order. When a speaker is happy in his remarks, the people shout out '*ngoafuo*'—*i.e.*, hear, hear; and when the chief closes the session, he invariably says '*pula*'—*i.e.*, rain—to which the people loudly respond, '*pula* !'

"As regards the judicial system, the court of the chief is the great court of appeal; but every petty and inferior chief has also his court. When, however, a case arises which cannot be settled by an inferior chief, it is taken to the petty chief, and, in case satisfaction cannot be had there, it is sent to the court of the conferring chief. The chief's prime minister, or spokesman, then appoints a day of hearing; the petty chiefs, or judges, are summoned, and also the witnesses. When all is ready, the chief takes his place in the midst of the judges, and the complainant is called upon to state his case. In like

manner, also, the defendant and witnesses. No one seems to be allowed to act as an advocate, but cross-examining, and cross-questioning is frequently resorted to. When a case has passed through this phase, each of the judges delivers his opinion, sitting. When all have had their say, the chief declares the award or punishment; as the case may be; and from his sentence or judgment there is no appeal.

"While the court is sitting the greatest decorum is observed; but freedom of speech is encouraged, and every effort is made to arrive at the truth. If a witness happens to be absent, the case will be postponed until another day, in order that his testimony may be had. I need hardly say that a native always pleads 'not guilty,' except when he has been caught in the very act.

"The public service of the Barolong is peculiarly native. It is regulated thus:—Every male child of the chief is made captain of the children of his own age, and, as he grows up, has to form them into a regiment, and teach them the arts of war, and obedience to his commands. Hence the heir, on becoming chief, has always his own regiment, which must remain attached to him as long as he lives. In case he dies, it is mingled with that of his successor. Hence every male in the whole tribe belongs to some one or other of the regiments of the children of the chief, or, in case the chief is a young man, to those of his younger brethren.

"On the children becoming young men they are called out with their regiments to render public



services, such as to dig and sow the chief's gardens in the spring, and to hoe them in the summer. After these acts of service they are usually regaled with meat and beer. They are also liable to be called on to act as the chief's police, to go and seize the cattle of some defiant petty chief, or to catch a thief. In time of war, they must patrol between the cattle of their country and the enemy's camp, and watch night and day so long as the war lasts. But on becoming men, *i.e.*, so soon as they can show anything worth calling a beard, their period of servitude ends; they may remain at home as men, or claim to be led forth to war with the elder regiments, and so take part in the defence of their country."

With variations of detail this description of the Government of the Barolong is applicable to that of all the independent tribes of South Africa, where the Government is patriarchal in its character.

In Western Africa there are now no great political organisations besides those of the Foulahs, the Ashantees, and the Dahomans. When not under a foreign control the people generally live together in independent communities, varying in population from three to thirty thousand. Amongst the smaller states, with the exception of that of the Kroomen, the form of government is nominally monarchical, but, in reality, the popular and patriarchal elements prevail largely amongst them. The Mandingoes, for instance, are in their several sections governed by chiefs, who are called kings; but all matters of importance are dis-

cussed and decided by a general council, where any man may appear and advocate his own cause, and in no part of the world, probably, is greater latitude and freedom of speech allowed than in these councils.

The Foulahs have governments congenial to the different modes of life which the various branches of the race lead ; from the patriarchal despotism of the Arab nomads to the self-government of the quiet agricultural villages.

The Government of the Ashantees is a military despotism in many of its features, therefore similar to that of the Zulus, yet affording strongly marked divergences. The king possesses absolute authority, and it is fatal to question his actions. The country, the people, and all they possess, are supposed to belong to him in the same sense that a slave and his property belong to his master. This system has been elaborated to a wonderful extent. A complete system of espionage is kept up over the whole country, and any word or deed that implies disrespect to the king, or censure of what he has done, is reported and punished. To be summoned to the presence of the king is a serious business, for it may mean death or dishonour, rather than reward. But oppressive as such a government is, the people have always been used to it, and feel it much less sensibly than might be supposed. Constitutional restraints are unknown to them, and in their present condition would not be appreciated.

But though the king is by common consent the owner of the country and all it contains, human nature is not less strong in its influence here than

elsewhere, and the abstract right of the king is not generally exercised. People acquire property for themselves, and enjoy it in their fashion, as in communities where greater freedom is the law. He is the legal heir, for instance, to all the property of his subjects, but unless a subject be put to death for reasons of state, he contents himself with receiving what unwrought gold may be found among the possessions of the deceased, and leaves all else to the wife and children. Again, instead of taking what is admitted to be his own to the full extent which the law would seemingly warrant, his revenue is derived from regularly defined imposts on his subjects.

A tax—a heavy one, doubtless—is paid to him on all gold manufactured into ornaments; he receives a large per centage also on all the gold taken from the mines; for permission to trade he derives large sums; the tribute from the conquered provinces goes into his treasury; and the property of those he condemns to die, the most fruitful of the many sources of his income, goes to swell his wealth. Consequently he is, or was—for the late war may have affected his status even in this matter—the richest of all the barbarous potentates of Western Africa. Apart, therefore, from the results of the horrid superstitions with which the king's position is associated, and which reek with human blood, the Government of Ashantee is no worse than many which we tolerate in India and elsewhere.

The Government of Dahomey seems to be even

more despotic than that of Ashantee ; for whereas no other than human attributes are assigned to the King of Ashantee, the monarch of Dahomey is looked upon as a sort of demi-god. He seems to hold therefore a position not unlike that until just lately occupied by the Mikado of Japan, and still held by the Grand Lama of Thibet. The consequences of such a position in his case are more revolting than those that flow from the superstitious reverence with which the spiritual rulers of Japan and Thibet are regarded. They are aggravated to a horrible extent by the greater ignorance, and more brutalising superstitions of the King of Dahomey and his people. In no part of the world, perhaps, are the instincts of human nature more set at naught, or more horribly outraged. The king's name in Dahomey must be pronounced with bated breath, for he in his own person absorbs the undivided respect of his people. His "smile is life," his "frown is death." He is the absolute proprietor of the land of the people, from the highest to the lowest, and everything that belongs to or is found in his dominion. And it would almost seem that the people love to have it so. They are governed and treated as a master governs and treats his slaves. So complete is this despotism that unlawful wounding is punished, not as an injury to a member of society, but as a harm done to the king's slave. Nevertheless, those in the king's favour, when not in the royal presence, expect from the commonalty the homage due to great men.

Describing the condition of the people under this

most tyrannical of governments, Captain Burton says :—  
 “ On the Gold Coast, and about the Gaboon River and the South Coast, even a peasant will have his chair, table, cot, and perhaps boxes for goods. Here he never dreams of such ownership. The cause is, of course, the ruler, who by spiritual advice acts upon the principle that iron-handed tyranny is necessary to curb his unruly subjects, and to spare him the necessity of inflicting upon them death in the ‘middle passage’—the Hamitic form of transportation. More to make them feel his power than to ameliorate their condition, he will not allow them to cultivate around Whydah coffee and sugar-cane, rice and tobacco, which at times have been planted and have been found to succeed. Similarly King Gezo stringently prohibited the growth of ground nuts, except for purely domestic purposes. A cabooceer (captain) may not alter his house, wear European shoes, employ a spittoon-holder, carry an umbrella without leave, spread over his bed a counterpane, which comfort is confined to princes, mount a hammock, or use a chair in his own home ; and if he sit at meat with a white, he must not touch knife or fork. Only a ‘man of puncto’ may whitewash the interior of his house at Agbome, and the vulgar must refrain from this, as well as from the sister luxury of plank or board doors. And so on in everything.”

All the women in the country are supposed to belong exclusively to the king. No man can have a wife save with the king’s consent, or hold her longer than the king pleases. Once a year the king makes a distribution of women ; some he gives away to his favourites, but most

are sold. The man who wishes to buy a wife lays down the price at the feet of the king, and receives, not the woman of his desires, it may be, but the woman, be she young or old, sickly or healthy, which the king assigns to him. The king appropriates hundreds of women as wives; at his death many of his wives are sacrificed, yet the women generally are not only willing but anxious to enter into conjugal relationship with him. Indeed, at the decease of the king, it is not uncommon, it is said, for them to anticipate the formal sacrifice, by falling upon one another with knives, and lacerating themselves even to the death.

But the fact which infamously distinguishes the Dahoman from all other African governments is, that most of the stronger women are trained and used as soldiers. Such is the brutalising effect of the discipline to which they are subjected, that they constitute not only the bravest, but also the most merciless of the Dahoman troops. These amazons, who are condemned to celibacy, being technically the king's wives, are skilled in the use of the musket, and all other weapons common to African warfare. The king places implicit confidence in their valour; in war they constitute his body-guard, and in the first attack upon Abbeokuta, it was to their desperate courage the king owed his escape from captivity or death.

When on his road to the capital of Dahomey, Captain Burton met with four of these amazons, who danced before him, and thus describes them:—  
“The four soldieresses were armed with muskets,

and habited in tunics and white culottes, with two blue patches, meant for crocodiles. They were commanded by an old woman in a man's straw hat, a green waistcoat, a white shirt—put on, like the breeches of the good King Dagobert, *à l'envers*—a blue waistcloth, and a sash of white calico. The virago directed the dance and song with an iron ferule. Two of the women dancers were of abnormal size, nearly six feet tall, and of proportional breadth, whilst generally the men were smooth, full breasted, round limbed, and effeminate-looking. Such, on the other hand, was the size of the female skeleton, and the muscular development of the frame, that in many cases femininity could be detected only by the bosom."

Afterwards he beholds the Amazonian army, and describes their warlike manœuvres, general appearance, and manners; from which it would seem that the training and passion for war had not only unsexed but brutalised them.

In days gone by the Dahomans did little else but wage war for the purpose of making slaves, from the sale of whom the king derived the main part of his revenue: those were the palmy days of Dahomey, the days of its greatest prosperity. Since the suppression of the slave trade, though the traditions of the country are kept up, the power and wealth of this vile kingdom have greatly decreased. The country has great natural resources, which, properly developed, would make the people wealthy; but they have inherited the vicious dispositions of their forefathers.



They are not given to industry, they care little for honest commercial enterprise; and, as there is no gold in the soil, perhaps no people of Western Africa are now really poorer than they.

No greater contrast to the Governments of Ashantee and Dahomey could be found than is afforded by that of the Kroomen, which is a much nearer approximation to a pure democracy than any other type of government in Africa of which we have any knowledge. According to Mr. Wilson (from whose book on *Western Africa* I have gained much information), the body politic is composed of three classes of persons, which together comprise almost the entire adult male population. The first of these are the *Gnekbade*, or old men. Their influence is great, and their authority is seldom contravened. In their deliberative assemblies their authority is equal to that of a senate, or second chamber of a republic. They have two presiding officers, one of whom is called *Bodio*, and the other *Worabauh*. The former is a sort of high priest, and is thought to have a supernatural power equal to the protection of the whole nation. He lives in a house provided for him by the people, and is maintained at their cost. He takes care of the national fetishes. His house is a sanctuary to which culprits resort, and from which they cannot be removed save by the *Bodio* himself. He is supposed to be responsible for the health of the community, the productiveness of the soil, the abundance of fish in the sea and rivers, and is blamed if ships do not



visit the coast often enough to keep the people supplied with such foreign products as they desire. If the country should be subjected to prolonged distress, from famine, disease, or war, the *Bodio* is made responsible for it, and may be deposed from his office, put to death, and dealt with in all respects like any private person. The *Worabauh* has no special office, and exercises no particular authority, except in time of war, when he is the recognised commander-in-chief.

The second, and, upon the whole, the most powerful class amongst the Kroomen, are the *Sedibo*, or soldiers. They comprise the great mass of the middle-aged men. The *Sedibo* form the strength, and are really the bulwark of the nation. They fight all the battles, protect the property of the nation, and are the strong arm upon which the people lean in times of danger. This is, without doubt, the best that can be said for this class of Kroomen, for, like their compeers in other regions of the world, both in ancient and modern times, they are rapacious and overbearing, and the stability they give to the nation is frequently paid for in individual discomfort and personal loss.

The third class are the *Kadibo*, or young men, who, naturally, are not influential or powerful, being regarded as only in training for the higher offices of life.

The *Deyabo*, or doctors, form a fourth class, but they have very little to do with the general affairs of

the country, and seldom take part in the deliberations of the national assemblies.

In all cases where any object of public interest is to be discussed, or law to be enacted, the three first classes are present, and take part in the discussion; the members of the *Kadibo*, however, seldom speak, unless the subject of discussion has special reference to a member of their own body.

These assemblies are held in the palaver house, or in the open air, and are generally conducted with propriety and decorum. (Indeed, I should say from my own experience of native councils, that the Africans generally in these matters afford a good example to more civilised communities.) The parties immediately interested, and who are expected to have a voice in the proceedings of the assembly, form themselves into a circle, which, of course, varies in size according to the interest that is felt, and the number who are present. The discussion is generally opened by some one appointed for the purpose, and this is done with much dignity and gravity. The speaker takes his stand in the centre of the circle, with a long staff in his hand, and commences by calling formally upon the people to listen, to which they make as formal a response. He then states the object for which the assembly has been convened, asks their consent and advice, and after throwing down the staff to be used by the speakers in succession, goes back to his seat. The use of the staff prevents more than one person from speaking at the same time, and it plays an

important part in the production of oratorical effect. When all those who represent the *Sedibo*, who may be regarded as the popular body, have spoken, the speakers of the *Gnekbade* take up the discussion, and give the results of their matured judgments.

All questions are settled by the popular voice, and this is generally arrived at without the formality of a vote. As might be expected, the *Gnekbade* and the *Sedibo* occasionally take opposite sides, and in such cases, if strong feeling has been aroused, the latter, being the more powerful party, carry the day, though this is invariably done with as little manifestation of disrespect for the elders as is possible. Matters judicial as well as legislative are settled in these popular assemblies, and to the *Sedibo* is entrusted the execution of all decrees.

It cannot be otherwise amongst a heathen people, however liberal their institutions, than that injustice should be perpetrated. Bodies of men are as much given to envy, suspicion, and passion as individuals; and though acts of injustice may not be so frequent amongst the Kroomen as in Ashantee and Dahomey, they are by no means uncommon. The *Sedibo* are in reality the masters of the land, and are sometimes guilty of unsparing oppression.

There is another feature in the constitution of the Kroomen Society which deserves notice—the division of the entire community into families, of which division as much is made as among the Jews. Each family has its head man, who is generally the oldest

male member of the community. The property of all members of the family, that is of any value, is held as common stock, and cannot be disposed of without the concurrence of the leading members. The head man is the representative of his own family in all public assemblies, and he is responsible for the good behaviour of all its members. If one of the younger members is guilty of any offence short of a capital crime, the head man of the family is brought to trial, and, if convicted, must pay from the family stock any fine that may be imposed. This arrangement tends probably to countenance the perpetration of crimes by the young, but the interest of the family acts as a considerable check upon youthful indiscretions. The predominant feeling of the Krooman is selfishness (indeed, this is at the root of heathenism everywhere), but next to this is love for his family, and it is considered the gravest of offences to betray its interests.

The Kroomen have no idea of the appropriation of land by individuals, except for temporary purposes, and in this they are like all barbarous races not under an absolute despotism. Land is a common property, and though any man may use as much of it as he chooses, he cannot sell it. When he gives up occupancy it reverts to the community again. The people, by common consent, may sell any portion of land to a stranger, on which to erect a warehouse, or for cultivation, but it is more than doubtful if such a transaction is regarded by them in the same sense that we look upon the purchase of a

freehold in land. They make over the land, I believe, in the full expectation that it will come to them again as a matter of course, should the purchaser die or leave the country. No taxes are imposed, and no revenues are collected by the Kroomen. All public works, such as cleaning streets, opening out a path, cutting down jungle, or making a bridge, are performed by a general effort of the people voluntarily made. And this holds true of the independent tribes generally.

The Kroomen may have no knowledge of the theory of government, but they know evidently how to govern themselves; and in them we see another instance of that remarkable variety which exists amongst the African races, not only in government, but in most things else that appertain to man's character and conduct in life.

In Southern Guinea there is really no thoroughly organised government like those of Ashantee and Zululand. At one time the kingdom of Congo exhibited the best type of monarchical government in Western Africa, but that has been long since broken up, and the people brought under a system which obliterates all marks of a distinctive nationality.

These illustrations may serve to show that the Africans are not inferior in the art of government to most other barbarous people; and that if it be maintained that they are, nevertheless, essentially inferior to other races of men, that inferiority must be found in other features of their life and character.

## CHAPTER V.

## RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS OF THE AFRICANS.

THERE are some people who seem to think that the superstitions of the Africans are not only the most revolting, but that they differ in character from those of all other heathens. This is not the least of the misconceptions which exist with respect to the Africans. Where there is a difference between them and others it is one of degree rather than of kind.

But owing to the reluctance which they have to tell you what they really believe and do, and the difficulty of discovering what is a traditional belief, and what is the offspring of their own lively fancies, it is no easy matter to give a satisfactory description of the religion of the Africans.

I have no doubt, however, that generally the Africans have a belief in the existence of a Supreme Being. In some parts of Western Africa the people are said to have an idea of God so deeply impressed upon their minds that it influences to a great extent their lives, and leads them to a worship distinct from all others. I cannot help thinking that this active belief in a Supreme Being is of foreign origin, for elsewhere in Africa the acknowledgment of the existence of

God is barren of results good or evil. The Africans seem to have no idea of God other than as a passive Being, who does not in any way interfere with the affairs of men. And as they do not attribute any of the evils they suffer to Him, nor credit Him with the good they enjoy, they do not as a rule worship Him. Only once did I see when in Africa any religious observance that might be construed as worship of God. It was an act of public prayer for rain, offered to "Mpambe," by which word, in so far as we could judge, the Manganja indicated the Supreme Being, a Being distinct from and different to an ordinary Spirit, whether good or evil, and certainly not the spirit of a departed human being. It has, however, been questioned by others, equally, not to say more, conversant with the Manganja than myself, whether the person then supplicated was, according to their idea, God. Probably the best account that has been given of the belief of the Africans in a Supreme Being is to be found in Bishop Callaway's "Religious System of the Amazulus," which is set forth in the words of a native named Umpengula Mbanda, which I transcribe :—

"When black man say Unkulunkulu (the old-old one, the most ancient one), or Uthlanga (the Creator), they mean one and the same thing. But what they say has no point; it is altogether blunt. For there is not one among black men, not even the chiefs themselves, who can interpret such accounts as those about Unkulunkulu, so as to bring out the truth, that

others too may understand what the truth of the matter really is. But our knowledge does not urge us to search out the roots of it ; we do not try to see them ; if any one thinks ever so little, he soon gives it up, and passes on to what he sees before his eyes ; and he does not understand the real state of even what he sees. Such, then, is the real fact as regards what we know about Unkulunkulu, of which we speak. We say we know what we see with our eyes ; but if there are any who see with their hearts, they can at once make manifest our ignorance of that which we see with our eyes and understand too. As to our primitive condition, and what was done by Unkulunkulu, we cannot connect them with the course of life on which we entered when he ceased to be. The path of Unkulunkulu, through our wandering, has not, as it were, come to us ; it goes yonder, whither we know not.

“But for my part I should say, if there be any one who says he can understand the matters about Unkulunkulu, that he knows them, just as we know him, to wit, that he gave us all things. But so far as we see, there is no connection between his gifts and the things we now possess. So, then, if any one says he knows all about Unkulunkulu, meaning that he knows them by what we see, I should say it would be well for him to begin where we begin, and travel by the path we know until he comes to us ; for we say, Unkulunkulu, the First Outcomer, gave us all things, and that he gave them to us, and also made us men, in



order that we should possess the things which he made for us.

"I say, then, that there is not one amongst us who can say that he knows all about Unkulunkulu ; for we say, 'Truly we know nothing but his name ; for we no longer see his path which he made for us to walk in (that is, we are not acquainted with any laws which he left for the regulation of our lives) ; all that remains is mere thought about the things which we like ; it is difficult to separate ourselves from these things, for that which we like of our own accord we adhere to with the utmost tenacity. If any one says, 'It is not proper for you to do that ; if you do it you will disgrace yourself ;' yet we do it, saying, 'Since it was made by Unkulunkulu, where is the evil of it ?' Just as we married many wives, saying, 'Hau ! we cannot deny ourselves as regards the abundance which Unkulunkulu has given us ; let us do just what we like.' And if we wish to enter into sin, we enter into it in his name, and are like people who are still in possession of his word ; but we do not really possess it, but do our own will only, doing it in his name ; but we have no union with Unkulunkulu, nor with that which he wished we should do by creating us.

"We black man cannot see the greatness of Unkulunkulu, nor that he loved us by creating us. And we worship \* him when we eat and are filled, or when we get drunk, or do our own will in matters in which

\* This is said ironically, in contradiction of statements which are sometimes made that Unkulunkulu is an object of worship.

we love to have our own will; and we are now like children who have no father or mother, who have their own wills about things which they would not do if their father and mother were still living; but they do it, for they imagine they are in a wilderness where no one can see them.

"This is the way we worship Unkulunkulu. When any one could find fault with us, asking us why we do so-and-so, we should say to him at once, 'But since you say it is not proper that this thing should be done, why did Unkulunkulu create what is evil?' And the other is silent. That is how we worship him. We do not worship him by praying Unkulunkulu to keep us ever in his path, that we may never forget it; but we now worship him by drunkenness, and a greedy pursuit of those things which we do by our own will.

"But there are no praise-giving names with which we praise him similar to the great number of those with which we praise the Amadhlozi (Spirits). This, then, is what I maintain, if any one says he understands all about Unkulunkulu. I say all men would be glad to go to the man who says this to see him and to hear him; for in process of time we have come to worship the Amadhlozi only, because we know not what to say about Unkulunkulu; for we do not even know where we separated from him, nor the word which he left with us. It is on that account, then, that we seek out for ourselves the Amadhlozi, that we may not always be thinking about Unkulunkulu, saying, 'Unkulunkulu has left us;' or, 'What has he

done for us?' So we made for ourselves our own Amadhlozi, and others made theirs for themselves, and others theirs for themselves. And now we have turned the back one on the other, and no one says, 'Spirit of such and such a family.' But all now say, 'Spirit of our family, of our tribe, look on me.' Such, then, is our condition."

When the Africans, as I have intimated, have been at any time under, or within reach of the teaching of Roman Catholic missionaries, even though they have refused to accept the form of Christianity placed before them, or have relapsed from it into heathenism, their religious beliefs have been considerably modified, and their views with regard to God have become much more defined. This is especially the case with the people of Southern Guinea. Their ideas of God are probably more exalted than those that are held by any other African race. No doubt they think of Him to a great extent as a Being like unto themselves, but they seem to assign to Him the attributes of wisdom, and power, and goodness, beyond what is ever done by tribes who have never come in contact with a religion exterior to their own. But the faith which finds expression in almost everything the Africans do, is belief in the existence of a vast spiritual agency. They regard themselves as living in the midst of an invisible world of spiritual beings, by whom they are in danger of being constantly influenced for evil rather than for good. Rightly directed, this belief in the spiritual world is a part of true religion, and is one of those

things which distinguish mankind, as I suppose, from the brute creation. In Africa, however, it is the primary cause of most of the misery and suffering which is so plentiful in that land.

In Southern Guinea, and in some other places where the natives have been brought into intercourse with Christians, their ideas with regard to the world of spirits are in many things different to those held by other tribes, and not quite so harmful in their effects. They distinguish more clearly between the good and the evil, and assign to each class characters and vocations so similar to those with which Christianity credits good and evil angels, that it is difficult not to think that they were led to these distinctions by Christians. Almost every man, for instance, has his tutelar or guardian spirit, for which he provides a house near his own. All the evil that is escaped, and all the good that comes to pass are ascribed to the kind offices of the guardian spirit. They believe also in a sort of arch-spirit, the chief of the guardian spirits, who is supposed to be not only good and gentle, but is also regarded as the author of everything in the world that is marvellous and mysterious. Any remarkable feature of the country, any notable phenomenon in the heavens, or any extraordinary event in the affairs of men, supposing it to be good rather than evil, is ascribed to this arch-spirit. The intercourse of this spirit, and those who acknowledge him for their chief, with men is thought to be direct and immediate, while all other spirits are

imagined to use the aid of some intervening agency. This belief in guardian spirits is, I believe, peculiar to the people of Southern Guinea, and is evidently derived from the teaching of the Portuguese missionaries, whose influence for over two hundred years was great in the land.

Beyond these exceptions, however, there seems to be not much in the superstitions of these people to distinguish them from those of the rest of Africa.

All have a fearful faith in witchcraft, which, of course, springs from their belief in the spiritual world. They believe, that is, that certain men and women have the capacity to hold, and do hold intercourse with malignant spirits, and gain thereby the power to inflict every form of evil on man and beast, and to influence for man's harm the very elements of nature. But in this the Africans do not differ from the rest of the world. The belief in witchcraft has ever been a prominent article of faith amongst all nations. It existed in full force amongst ourselves for many centuries after Christianity was the established religion of the land. It is not three hundred years since the last execution (death by burning) for witchcraft took place in England. Not long ago even a respectable farmer, so it was reported in the newspapers, was brought before the magistrates of his district and fined five pounds for beating an old woman with a thick stick, and his defence was, she was a witch, and had bewitched his cattle.

The belief in witchcraft in Africa, however, is

carried to a horrible extent, and is the cause of a never-ending misery and suffering.

During my sojourn in Africa I saw but little of the worst effects produced by this belief. The people with whom I was associated had a gentle disposition, were averse to deeds of violence, and by no means given to bloodshed. They had an active belief in witchcraft, but with them it led to far less harm than with tribes of stronger natures. Occasionally, however, it prompted even them to take away life. I remember the case of a man who was accused of witchcraft because another man had been killed by lightning. Had not this man uttered certain threats against the deceased, nothing sinister concerning him might have been suspected. As it was, his conduct excited suspicion, and suspicion grew and increased, until he was denounced as having, by the aid of witchcraft, killed his fellow. Then a witness deposed that he had seen him go up to the clouds and bring down the flash of lightning that had proved so fatal. Strange to say, from some cause or another, the man did not deny the charge, and he was put to death. I heard of no other instance of capital punishment for witchcraft amongst the Manganja during the three years I was with them.

I recollect an instance of supposed witchcraft which illustrates another phase of this belief. A young woman came to us in great distress, saying she was bewitched, that some wizard or witch had caused an evil spirit in the form of a toad to enter her body, and that it

would soon kill her if the witch-doctor did not discover the person who had done this, and who alone had power to dislodge the creature that was destroying her. She was simply suffering from an enlarged spleen, which our medical brother soon reduced. These people invariably attributed to witchcraft any illness which they did not understand. The native medicine men had some knowledge of the medicinal properties of certain plants, and knew how to apply them with good effect in some cases of sickness ; but when a patient came to them suffering, it may be from a disease which required knowledge of internal anatomy for its cure, such disease was said to be caused by witchcraft, and the witch-doctors were set to work to discover the offender. For their own credit's sake they discovered some one, who was adjudged guilty, and who had to pay the penalty of such a crime—loss of freedom or of property, but rarely death—unless he claimed to be tested by the poisoned water. If he escaped unharmed from the ordeal, he was adjudged to be innocent.

Amongst the Kaffirs and the Zulus the belief in witchcraft assumes portentous dimensions, and is made an instrument of fearful tyranny and oppression. Every visitation of sickness and disease, whether from natural causes, accident, or through the administration of poison, is thought to be the effect of witchcraft, and the witch-doctor is regarded as a necessary appendage in every district to ward off these calamities, and to discover wizards and witches. This belief leads to

a great deal of intentional wrong-doing. Sometimes, I have no doubt, the witch-doctors really believe in their vocation, but more frequently they are conscious impostors, the mere instruments by which the chief plunders his opulent subjects, or satisfies his revenge on those who are obnoxious to him. To the chief is generally confiscated the property of those who are found guilty of witchcraft; and such confiscations are a great source of his wealth. Not long ago a virulent cattle disease was prevalent in Zululand. Cetywayo, up to the period of this visitation, had somewhat discountenanced accusations of witchcraft, and had lessened considerably the number of capital punishments for that crime; but his own cattle died in great numbers of the disease, while those of some of his wealthier people lived; and it was soon discovered that his losses were attributable to witchcraft, and that the possessors of the healthy cattle were the parties guilty of it. This discovery proved fatal to them, but profitable to him, as the number of his cattle was largely increased thereby.

In western, and indeed in every other part of Africa, this belief in witchcraft is the cause of a wide-spread terror and misery.

But terrible as witchcraft is in most of its aspects, it is not an unmitigated evil. Though the chiefs sometimes abuse it to their own purposes, it acts as a salutary check even upon them. They believe in it, and fear it as much as their people. Now and then you may meet with a man who, like Chaka, rises superior to the dread of it, in so far as he himself is concerned;



but such men are rare, and as a rule chiefs and people are equally afraid of it. Consequently it acts frequently as a restraint upon the reckless or unpopular exercise of arbitrary power, even by such despots as Cetywayo and the king of Ashantee. They fear that all the resources of witchcraft from a thousand unknown quarters may be used against them, and they are careful not to exercise their prerogatives in an unpopular manner. Even against individuals who are obnoxious to themselves, they proceed with caution. By insinuation and other ways they make them the objects of suspicion to others; they excite the prejudices of their fellows against them before they hunt them down. With regard to any measure that affects tribal interests, they are as careful to gain the popular feeling, and to involve many of the leading men in the responsibility of their proceedings, as are the rulers of more enlightened countries. Despots though they be in theory, the fear of witchcraft makes them anxious to gain something like a national sanction to any measure that is likely to affect national interests.

The methods pursued by the witch-doctors for the discovery of wizards and witches vary in different localities, but the difference of operation is in detail rather than in the principle on which they proceed. In all parts of Africa the divining-rod plays a conspicuous part in these proceedings. Some calamity happens which is ascribed to witchcraft, and the witch-doctor's services are required. An extensive gathering of the tribe is convened. The proceedings

take place at night, though this is not invariably the case. A large fire is lighted, and the people form themselves in a circle around it. The witch-doctor comes into the ring. A low chant, slow in time, is then raised by the women, and the witch-doctor walks slowly round and round. The singers raise their voices and quicken their time, and the doctor begins to leap, and dance, and shout as though he were possessed of a devil. Gradually the people are worked up into a state of frenzy, and frequently the doctor falls to the ground, exhausted for the moment by his violent actions. His frantic movements cease as the singing gradually subsides. A silence of some minutes' duration ensues, during which he rests himself. Then, with a bundle of divining-rods in his hand, he walks round facing the assembly. A rod is seen to move or leap out from the rest; and woe be to the man or woman who is nearest to him when this takes place. The denouncement is not immediately made, but the offender is supposed to be indicated, and the excitement of the people becomes intense. This lively rod is singled out from the rest, which are thrown on to the fire, and, being charged with some resinous matter, they blaze brightly, which is regarded as a proof that they are charged with supernatural power. With the remaining rod he then proceeds through the assembly again, and when he approaches the person already indicated, the rod vibrates. He stops, confronts the individual, and gazes silently at him for some time, whilst a death-like silence prevails. This

he repeats three times, and then, after other but subordinate proceedings, calculated to bring the guilt more surely home, the person thus pointed out is declared to be the culprit. The people by this time are prepared to enact any barbarity, and frequently, if the offender be doomed to death, very horrible scenes take place.

Amongst the Kaffirs it would seem that there is no appeal from this judgment ; but with most other tribes the person denounced can claim the final test of the poisoned water ordeal. From this there is no appeal, for wherever it is in use it is thought to be infallible, and no one ever thinks of questioning its decision.

This poison is a decoction made from the inner bark of a tree, belonging, I believe, to one of the *mimosa* family. It is both a narcotic and an emetic, which depends upon the constitution of the person who drinks it. If it causes him to vomit, he is adjudged innocent ; but should it have the effect of producing vertigo and loss of self-control, his guilt is established, and punishment surely follows.

But in this, as in most other proceedings of the Africans, there is seldom a fair administration of justice. The fate of the accused is largely dependent upon the feeling with which he is regarded by the community. No particular quantity or potency of the ordeal water is prescribed, and whether a man drink little or much, or whether it be weak or strong, depends upon the feeling with which he is regarded by the chief and the people, or the influence he may

have, through bribery or friendship, with those who prepare and are appointed to administer the test.

The Kaffirs are certainly more logical in dispensing with the ordeal, and accepting as final the decision of the witch-doctor.

But faith in the spirit world takes a wider range in Africa than that I have yet described. There is a universal belief in the existence of the disembodied spirits of dead men. This belief is almost as troublesome, and amongst some tribes not less mischievous in its results than faith in the existence of spirits who have never formed a part of mankind. It is troublesome by interfering with the affairs of life frequently at the most critical moments, leading men, under the influence of dreams which are supposed to be inspired by the spirits of the departed, to act contrary to the interests of themselves and their people. The Africans are much given to dreaming, and the probable influence of dreams must be taken into account in all your intercourse with them. You may enter into an engagement with a chief to carry out a certain enterprise, but when on the very verge of putting your plan into execution, the chief dreams a dream which is interpreted as being unfavourable to the venture, and he and his people abandon the whole affair. For instance, a number of Manganja and Waiou chiefs combined to resist the warlike advances of a Machinga chief, and their success seemed certain. They assembled their forces on a mountain near to the Lake Shirwa, when the very night before that on which

they had decided upon commencing operations, the chief who had been the prime mover in the enterprise, dreamed that the mountain on which they were assembled was suddenly lifted up and placed in the middle of the lake, and that the deep waters were around them, and that he and his people could find no way of escape. This was interpreted to mean that the enemy would close them in with his fighting men, like the waters of the lake, and that none of them would escape from him. This view was generally accepted, the enterprise was abandoned, and the chiefs and people returned to their respective homes—to be destroyed in detail by the Machinga.

But this is not the only consequence of the belief that the spirits of the dead still take an active interest in the affairs of the living, and that their monitions, in whatsoever way they may be given, must be regarded. It leads to much cruelty and many horrible deeds. A man will do anything rather than run the risk of exposing himself to the displeasure of the dead; for that displeasure is supposed to make itself felt in bodily and mental disease, and in nervous affections that in their symptoms partake of the character of demoniacal possessions.

This phase of their belief seems to be strongest amongst tribes who have achieved fame and position through the military prowess of a succession of war-like chiefs. Amongst the pastoral and agricultural tribes, who have gone on from generation to generation in their ordinary method of life, though its

effects are undoubtedly mischievous, they are less repulsive.

I have no doubt that the horrible human sacrifices which took place in Ashantee, were largely owing to this belief. The demands of the world of human spirits are insatiable. A king dies, for instance, and he is believed to dwell in the land of spirits as a king, and to need all the state and luxury which he possessed on earth. In order that he may be royally served, therefore, many men and women are killed at his funeral, that their spirits may accompany him to his destination, and administer to his wants and pleasures. For as a man lives in this world, so is he supposed to live in the realms of the departed.

His successor may dream that the contribution made is not sufficient, and fresh sacrifices are made. The greater the state in which the man lived on earth, the greater is the number of human beings slain at his decease, and probably at frequent intervals after his death, until the affection and fears of his successor are impaired or allayed.

Human sacrifices, in compliance with the supposed demands and requirements of the dead, are, I believe, almost universal in Africa, though the extent to which they are carried varies with the character and position of the different tribes.

I was once on a journey, and towards sunset came to a village where I purposed to halt for the night. As usual, the people received me kindly, the best hut was placed at my disposal, water and food were sent to

me from the head man. I spent an hour or two talking and laughing with the grown folks, and playing with the children. I saw and heard nothing that was offensive, nothing that in any way indicated a savage disposition on the part of the inhabitants of this place, and, apart from their superstitions, they were certainly far from sanguinary. But during the night an infant son of the head man died, and next day the body of the child was buried, but not alone, a woman was killed that her spirit might accompany the spirit of the infant, and tend it in the spirit world. This was not the only instance of the sort with which I became personally acquainted. On one occasion we heard of the death of a petty chief in our neighbourhood, and that his funeral would be accompanied by the sacrifice of a woman, and we interfered. A brother missionary went to the place where the sacrifice was to be made, and succeeded in saving the woman from death by his representations. If we take into consideration, therefore, the character and comparative insignificance of the Manganja, as compared with the character and far greater position of the Ashantees, we can understand how Coomassie, on the death of a king, or near relative of a king, becomes for the time being a horrible Aceldama, when on one occasion, it is said, two hundred slaves, and a great number of freemen were sacrificed weekly for three months.

On other occasions these terrible sacrifices are made in deference to the supposed intimations of the dead, and to such an extent are they reported to have

been carried, that one can only imagine that the brains of those who instigated them had become absolutely diseased with superstitious fear on this subject. For instance, a king of Ashantee imagined that the spirits of his mother and sisters had intimated to him that, if he washed their bones in blood, the war in which he was then engaged would prove successful. Their bones, therefore, were taken from their graves, and after being bathed in rum and water, and rolled in gold dust, were wrapped in silk. Those who had done anything to displease the king were sent for in succession and put to death, that their blood might wash the royal remains. All through the night the king's executioners traversed the streets in search of victims. The sacrifices continued through the next day and night, and then the bones were removed to their resting-place, where more people were put to death, that the grave as well as the remains might be drenched with blood.

In consequence of the supernatural character which the Dahomans ascribe to their king, the sacrifices at his death are said to be carried even to a greater extent than in Ashantee. Captain Burton is of opinion that the number of victims put to death on the decease of a king of Dahomey, and at the king's annual customs, has been greatly exaggerated. It was stated that the present king had in 1863 indulged in a sacrifice of 2,000 human beings, and that in 1860, on the death of his father, he had floated a canoe, and paddled himself in a tank full of human blood. There



was some foundation for those statements. Probably four or five hundred people on each of these occasions fell victims to revenge and ostentation, and a show of filial piety. The report about the floating of a canoe in blood arose from the custom of collecting the gore of the victims in a circular pit about two feet deep and four feet in diameter. Nevertheless, it is very certain that every year many men, women, and children are slain at the king's fête day, and at the national festivals, besides those who are sacrificed to appease the manes of the dead, or at the declaration, and during the progress of war. The victims are generally prisoners of war, whom the king sets aside for this purpose, very few of them, except the criminal portion, being Dahomans.

One other custom arising from this belief in the existence of the spirits of the dead is not without the sanction of some amongst ourselves. When any one of them is at the point of death he is frequently burdened with messages from the living to the dead. Where, in Africa, a man has power of life and death in his hands, this practice is sometimes an irresistible temptation, when he wishes to communicate with his deceased friends, to despatch by violent means a messenger to the realms of the departed.

The following extract from the Journal of Commander Perry, of H.M.S. *Griffin*, affords an illustration of this :—

"*July* 10, 1862.—The ground shook violently, evidently from the effects of the earthquake felt at

Accra, when Mr. Euschars was at once brought to the market-place, where he found the king seated on the raised platform, surrounded by Amazons. The king told him that the ground shaking was his father's spirit, complaining that the 'customs' were not properly made. Three Ishagga chiefs were then brought before the king, and told they were to go and tell his father that the 'customs' should be better than ever. Each chief was then given a little of rum, and a head of cowries, and then decapitated. Thirty-four men were then brought out in baskets, with their heads just showing out, and placed on the platform in front of the king. They were then thrown down to the people, who were dancing, singing, and yelling below. As each man was thrown down, he was seized and beheaded, the heads being placed in one heap, and the bodies in another."

Captain Burton says, these sacrifices in Dahomey are not only founded upon a religious basis, but are "a touching instance of the king's filial piety, deplorably mistaken, but perfectly sincere."

All this is very horrible ; yet I doubt if the Africans are in these things worse than many of the heathen of ancient days in other parts of the world. Human sacrifices to the gods, or to the deified spirits of men, have been common since mankind followed the example of Cain, and "went from the presence of the Lord." Moloch and his kindred were more rank with blood than are even the bones of all the royal personages of Ashantee and Dahomey. The

ancient Britons were much given to human sacrifices. "Saxon, and Norman, and Dane are we;" and our forefathers, in the times of their ignorance, were probably as much given to human sacrifices as the Africans. Dr. Maclear has lately told us, that as late as A.D. 1230, "human sacrifices were still being offered up in Prussia and Lithuania in honour of Patrinpos, the god of corn and fruits, and Picullus, the god of the nether world; while infanticide was so common, that all the daughters in a family were invariably put to death, and male and female slaves were burnt with the dead bodies of their masters."

Look where you may, and you find scarcely a spot of the world that has not been polluted with the blood of mankind, shed not merely in war, but to gain the favour, or deprecate the wrath of the gods, or to do honour to the dead.

It is right that we should not forget this when the bloody rites of the Africans are brought under our notice, otherwise we shall be tempted to do them an injustice by thinking them in these matters different from all other people.

There is another phase of the belief of the Africans in the existence of the spirits of men after the death of the body, viz., transmigration, which requires some notice. I do not know whether this be common, but some of the tribes with whom I became acquainted held it strongly. By the Nungwi, a tribe living not far from Tete, the lion and the hyena were regarded as sacred animals on account of a belief in the

transmigration of spirits. I was on one occasion, when travelling, kept awake all night by the incessant roaring of a lion, and the less majestic utterances of a hyena, who prowled about our camp, and the natives of the country who were with me said that it was a Pondo and his slave. A Pondo is a human being with supernatural gifts, whose spirit does not always remain in the realms of the departed, but occasionally revisits the earth, sometimes in the body of a man, then in the body of a lion; and again, after some years have passed, in the body of a man, or, it might be, of a woman. The hyena being heard almost always, though not by any means exclusively, in company with the lion, was in consequence said to be the Pondo's slave. On this occasion our reputed skill with the gun caused the natives more uneasiness than the close proximity of the lion. They thought I might kill the brute, and bring, in consequence, a great calamity on them and theirs.

I saw also in the immediate neighbourhood of Tete a huge crocodile, the largest I have ever seen, I think it must have been over twenty feet long; and in this monster was supposed to dwell the spirit of a human being. It had, it was said, killed many men and women, but no effort was made either by the Portuguese or the natives to kill it. I shot at the beast—a crocodile was the only creature I ever felt inclined to kill—and was told that I hit it; but the next day it was basking in its usual place, and I fancy my want of skill must have increased its reputation, for an Englishman had fired at it, and hit it, yet it had

received no harm ; that fact would become a legend, and their belief in the supernatural character of the animal would be confirmed.

The reverence for snakes, which undoubtedly exists in Africa, and especially amongst the Zulu Kaffir tribes, is owing, to a great extent, to this belief in transmigration.

I transcribe the following traditions, mentioned by Bishop Callaway, which serve to prove this :—

“ When a man dies among black men the grave is covered with branches. The person to whom the dead man belongs watches the grave continually. If a son has died, his father watches the branches continually, that when they see that the branches are rotten they may be satisfied, knowing that nothing can now disturb the remains, for they are rotten. And if he observe a snake on the grave, the man who went to look at the grave says on his return, ‘ Oh, I have seen him to-day basking in the sun on the top of the grave.’

“ So, then, if the snake does not come home, or if they do not dream of the dead, they sacrifice an ox or a goat, and it is said he is brought back from the open country to his home. And if they do not dream of him, they are troubled and ask, ‘ How did this man die ? we do not see him ; his Itongo is dark.’

“ ‘ *Itongo*’ is the name given by the Kaffirs to the inhabitants of the spirit world.

“ The snakes into which men turn are not many ; they are distinct and well known. They are the black

Imamba, and the green Imamba, which is called Inyan-degulu. Chiefs turn into them. Common people and chieftainesses into the Umthlwagi. Another snake is called Ubulube, or Inkwakwa, and another Umging-andhulu ; only common people turn into these.

“These snakes are known to be human beings as they enter a hut ; they do not usually enter by the doorway. Perhaps they enter when no one is there, and go to the upper part of the hut, and stay there coiled up. A snake of this kind does not eat frogs or mice ; it remains quiet.”

I myself while in Africa only met with one real instance of the veneration for snakes, but learnt from the natives that it was not uncommon. One of my colleagues, while accompanied by a native, saw a large snake crossing his path just ahead of him, and raised his gun to shoot it. His attendant, however, in great alarm, besought him not to do so. The snake was well known, he said, he was a spirit snake, and the chief of all the spirit snakes in the country ; if let alone, no harm would come of it ; but if killed, his children all round about would come together and revenge their father's death by killing many men, women, and children.

Captain Burton says that, at Whydah, “The Danh-gbwe is here worshipped, like the monkey near Accra and Wuru, the leopard of Agbome, the Iguana of Bonny, and the crocodile at Savi, Porto Seguro, and Badagry. The reptile is a brown, yellow-and-white-streaked python of moderate dimensions ; and none

appears to exceed five feet. The narrow neck and head, tapering like the slow-worm's, show it to be harmless; the negro, indeed, says its bite is good as a defence against the venomous species, and it is tame with constant handling. M. Wallon saw 100 in the temple, some ten feet long, and he tells his readers that they are never known to bite, whereas they use their sharp teeth like rats. Of these 'nice gods' I counted seven, including one which was casting its slough; all were reposing upon the thickness of the clay wall where it met the inner thatch. They often wander at night, and whilst I was sketching the place a negro brought an estray in his arms; before raising it, he rubbed his right hand on the ground and duly dusted his forehead, as if grovelling before the king. The ugly brute coiled harmlessly round his neck like the 'doctored' Cobra in India or Algeria. Other snakes may be killed and carried dead through the town, but strangers who meddle with the Danhgbwe must look out for 'palavers,' which, however, will probably now resolve themselves into a fine. In olden times death has been the consequence of killing one of these reptiles; and if the snake be abused, 'serious people' still stop their ears and run away."

Serpent worship in Western Africa is mostly confined to the coast regions; some tribes worship a black snake of large size, while others in the Bight of Biafa are as bigoted in the worship of the python as are the people of Whydah.

Probably in Western Africa this worship is more

connected with fetish than with belief in transmigration, but it is not at all clear what place it really holds in the estimation of the worshippers.

Chibisa, for a time the most remarkable chief in the neighbourhood of the Shiré, appears to have acquired power through the belief of the natives in transmigration. The Portuguese say that he was a slave at Tete; of his actual origin little was certainly known. The natives regarded him as a Pondora, the inheritor of the spirit of a great prophet, the original Chibisa, who, as a woman, lived on the earth many years before. Learned in the beliefs of his countrymen, and ambitious of chieftainship, he had declared himself to be the possessor of the spirit of Chibisa, and backed up his declaration by the performance of many wonderful deeds, the secret of which he had probably learned during his residence with the Portuguese. The impression he made was so great that people flocked to him from all parts of the country, who regarded him not only as a prophet, but as their chief, and calling themselves after his name. A lucky feat of war, when with bows and arrows he overcame a party armed with guns, increased his reputation, and his followers were inclined to pay him divine honours. He was a bold, clever man, the most remarkable man I met with in Africa, but he was a trickster rather than a hero. Had he possessed the heroism and military ability of Chaka, the founder of the present Zulu dynasty, he might have established a kingdom. Instead of which, as soon as he had made himself the leader of a somewhat



numerous following, he gave himself up to debauchery, indulged in petty quarrels with the neighbouring chiefs, instead of fighting and subduing them; and was ultimately killed by a half-caste Portuguese rebel with whom he had made an alliance.

The worship of the spirits of ancestors occupies a more prominent position in Western than Eastern Africa. This seems to have arisen from the profound respect which the natives of the Nigritian stock have for celebrated persons. For those who are high in office, or who have been successful in trade or in war, or have in any other way distinguished themselves, the negroes, especially those of Southern Guinea, evidence a respect which, in outward form, seems at times to amount almost to adoration. And as it is imagined that their power and influence when dead is even greater than when living, this respect naturally increases to an idolatrous regard for them after death. Images representing the deceased worthies are used in this worship of the dead in Western Africa, where alone idolatry is found; for, as far as I can learn, none of the branches of the Nilotic family have idols. I am not prepared to say, however, that this fact shows that they have less respect for celebrated persons than their brethren in the Western part of the continent.

Idolatry, be it said, is not confined to the worship of ancestors in Western Africa. In some places, especially at Whydah, the sensual dispositions of mankind are embodied in idols, whose delineations are gross beyond possibility of description.

There is one other feature of the ancestral worship that remains to be noticed, common to all Africans, which takes the form of *relic* worship. Frequently the skull, as being the seat of wisdom, is preserved for this purpose. Sometimes all the bones of a father or mother are kept above ground in a small house provided for their reception. Those who resort to them for worship and aid do not pretend to have audible communication with them, but they find a comfort in doing so, and fancy they thus gain help in all the emergencies and trials of life. But though this indicates both reverence and affection on the part of the survivors, such are the contradictions of nature involved in this, as in all other of their superstitions, that the aged parents are sometimes known to avoid their children for fear they should be sent prematurely to the spirit world, where they are supposed to be capable of rendering more effective aid to their offspring than in this.

Closely connected with, and springing from belief in the world of spirits, is faith in Fetich. This faith is elaborated into many observances, but in its simple form it implies that certain people, the medicine men, for instance, have the power of imparting to a stick, or a stone, or a bone, or any other, in itself, insignificant thing, a supernatural efficacy, which guards their persons or their property from the malice of malignant spirits, or the operations of witchcraft, and will also bring evil upon men who seek their hurt in any way. The

Africans, however, are not the only believers in fetish, for belief in charms, which is the same thing, has obtained amongst all races of men, and is not unknown, even now, amongst ourselves. I know a district in England where it assumes a very disgusting form. On a certain day, known in the neighbourhood as "toad-bag day," it is the custom with many persons, who will be found in the churches and chapels on Sundays, to resort to a celebrated "wise man" to purchase a charm against sickness and misfortune during the forthcoming year. The said charm consists of the leg of a toad pulled from the animal while living, which the purchasers wear in a bag about their persons, as our forefathers did less loathsome amulets. The experience of most persons, who live in the country, will furnish them with many corresponding examples of faith in fetish, or charms, amongst our own people.

Amongst the Africans fetishes are worn not only about their persons, but are also set up in their fields, their villages, and in their houses as a protection against harm. "The purposes for which fetishes are used," says Mr. Wilson, "are almost without number. One guards against sickness, another against drought, a third against the disasters of war. One is used to draw down rain, another secures good crops, and a third fills the sea and rivers with fishes, and makes them willing to be taken in the fisherman's net. Insanity is cured by fetishes, the sterility of women is removed, and there is scarcely a single evil incident to

human life which may not be overcome by this means; the only condition annexed is that the right kind of fetish be employed. Some are intended to preserve life, others to destroy it. One inspires a man with courage, makes him invulnerable in war, or paralyses the energy of an enemy. Sometimes they are made for the express purpose, and are commissioned with authority to put any man to death who violates a law that is intended to be specially sacred and binding."

This exhaustive description of the use of fetishes in Western Africa, making allowances for the varying circumstances of different localities, is applicable to every part of Africa.

During my short sojourn in Eastern Africa I had many opportunities of becoming acquainted with fetishism. Our immunity from the effects of fetish was a cause of perpetual wonderment to the natives. Consciously or unconsciously we were continually doing things that should have brought harm upon us, and because no ill followed, they imagined that we were protected by charms more powerful than their own. I recollect on one occasion sitting down by a hut, against the door of which was placed the horn of an antelope, the hollow of which was filled with a greasy compound. To the horror of my native attendants I took this horn into my hands, examined it closely, and stirred about and smelt the fatty abomination with which it was filled. I was told it was *mankwara*—medicine, or fetish—and that it was death to do as I was doing; and because no harm happened

to me, they for the moment regarded me in somewhat the same light in which the barbarians at Melita regarded St. Paul, when no hurt came to him from the bite of the viper. Of course I made use of this opportunity for a good purpose; and in course of time some of the people under our influence, by our teaching and example, had, I believe, almost as little faith in the native fetishes as we had.

I have no doubt of the intense belief which the natives have in the power of fetish. Many told me that they knew of people who had been smitten with disease or death through trespassing on the property of their neighbours in defiance of the fetish set up to protect it, or in exposing themselves to its influence in some other ways, but I never met with any one who was really suffering from such an act of temerity. Of escapes from danger, or of good luck in the affairs of life through the extraordinary powers of their fetishes, almost all the men and women with whom I talked on the subject had wonderful tales to tell.

But though so guarded, there are perhaps no people more apprehensive of danger than the Africans generally. Their faith in this, as in all things else, is most illogical; and it was frequently a marvel to me how they, who, apart from their superstitious beliefs, were usually shrewd and sensible, could possibly be led by it. Their religious instincts are out of harmony with their purely mental capacity, and find expression in beliefs and practices that are not only brutal and fierce but puerile and idiotic.

Nevertheless, there is a hopeful side even to this perversion of the spiritual part of their being. Their strong belief in the supernatural, when rightly directed, will lead them, I believe, to an equally strong acceptance of what God has revealed and ordained for the purification and exaltation of our spiritual nature. In their blind and wicked way, they, in common with mankind in all ages, and in all parts of the earth, thus seek for communion with the good, and protection from the evil of the invisible world; and this propensity will make the truth upon this subject less difficult to receive when it is presented to them. I wish missionaries realised this fact more than they do, and adopted St. Paul's plan, when at Athens, of making use of what the heathen already know and believe, in their efforts to convert them, instead of regarding their superstitions as utterly useless and worthless. It shows also that, though here and there individuals, and even small sections of people, may be found in Africa, who have, seemingly, no sense of the spiritual world, no belief in the existence of men after death, the vast majority of the Africans are not so brutalised.

## CHAPTER VI.

## DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE AFRICANS.

THERE are certain features of the domestic life and social customs of the Africans with which most people are now acquainted. Their costume, their various methods of improving personal appearance, the occupations of their daily life, their amusements and observances at various periods of their life, &c., have of late years been amply described by travellers, and have been made otherwise clear to us by the pictorial illustrations which adorn their narratives. Such customs are found to vary in some particulars with the different races that inhabit the land, yet there runs through all the tribes of Africa a great similarity of observances in these respects, the difference being one simply of detail and development.

With some tribes, like the Kaffirs, for instance, the character and style of costume is regulated by age, rather than by the social standing of the wearers. Boys and girls are not permitted to wear the same fashion of apparel which their elders, who have conformed to all the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the laws of the tribe, wear. With such people the rules relating to costume are rigid, and little scope is

left for the exercise of the fancy. With other tribes no such hard and fast line is drawn, though the conservative element, which is strong in the nature of the African, tends to check any great departure from the habits of his forefathers. Where the tribes have lost their independence, or are brought under the immediate influence of more civilised neighbours, everything soon becomes changed, and the national habits and customs, in clothing as in all things else, give place to a grotesque imitation of European fashions. Throughout Africa dress is generally conspicuous by its absence. Some tribes, it is true, have an attire that, without being opposed to the condition of the climate, is, when fully worn, sufficiently ample to cover the person; but with most of the African tribes a loin cloth, or its substitute of skins or manufactured grass, for men and women, in some cases reduced to narrowest limits, and an occasional covering for the shoulders and chest, is deemed sufficient for the highest as well as the lowest of the people.

At first this scant attire appears very repulsive to those, who, like ourselves, are accustomed to cover the whole body, save the face; but, like the antipathy to the colour of their skin, this feeling passes away, and the costume of the Africans soon ceases to give offence. The reason is this. Their attire is in harmony with the established order of things, and in perfect concord with the thoughts and feelings of the general community. Their lack of clothing is not necessarily suggestive of indecency or immorality. They are quite



unconscious of shame, until it be suggested to them by the better-clothed and intentionally immoral stranger. During the three years I was in Africa, I rarely saw an act of intentional immodesty; consequently, when the sight becomes accustomed to the absence of raiment, your sense of propriety is far less offended than in England, where ample clothing is made the vehicle for asserting defiance, if not of actual law, yet of the wishes and feelings of the more virtuous part of the community.

The material of which the African's dress is made depends to a great extent on the characteristics of the country and its proximity to the sea. Save amongst the Kaffirs, who cling to the skins of wild animals in preference to any other material, the tribes that are acquainted with European manufactures prefer Manchester or American cotton-cloths to anything that they can produce themselves. With the Mozambique tribes this preference is carried, as it seemed to me, to a foolish extent. Cotton is an indigenous plant in many parts of East Central Africa; the natives cultivate it; and they are skilful in the manufacture of pieces of cloth varying in size and shape from a waistband to a large sheet. In quality this material is generally answerable to what we call jack towelling; but I have some specimens of native cloth of a much finer quality. Yet, notwithstanding this ability to provide themselves with cloth of their own manufacture, which lasts much longer and looks, as a rule, much better, the desire for the foreign material is with many of them

almost a passion. They will give anything they possess in exchange for it. They will make war upon their neighbours that they may exchange their prisoners for it; indeed, the chiefs will sometimes sell their own people to obtain it, and I have known some men who have been guilty of exchanging wife or children for the coveted *Americano*, as the broad, or coarse, unbleached calico from the United States is called.

To give details of the various styles of dress met with in Africa is more than I can attempt. I must be content with simply making such brief and general observations upon this and kindred subjects as seem calculated to correct any erroneous ideas which we may have upon them. Of this I am sure, that the scant attire of the Africans does not indicate a lower state of natural modesty than exists amongst the heathen where the apparel is more elaborate, as in India, and China, and Japan. Human nature also manifests itself in Africa with regard to dress in the same way as it does amongst more civilised people—that is to say, the desire to appear well dressed, from their point of view, in the eyes of their neighbours, is as common to them as it is to ourselves; and considering the absurdities to which fashion drives us, I am almost inclined to think that their point of view is not far inferior to our own.

Of course, vanity is as common to them as to other people, and the desire to improve the personal appearance is as common to them as to others, and,

like others, they sometimes do very extraordinary things in order to accomplish that.

The never-ending variety of fashion in dressing the hair is one of the most conspicuous manifestations of vanity amongst the naked or half-naked tribes ; and it is a vanity which apparently belongs to the men rather than to the women. Amongst the tribes with whom I became acquainted, in times of peace and plenty, the dandies—for there are dandies in Africa as well as in England—spent a considerable portion of their time in the arrangement of their hair. I have seen a young man walking on the tips of his toes, he was so proud of his personal appearance, and simply because he had achieved a head-dress different to the rest of the community ; he had shaved one-half of his head entirely bald, while the other half exhibited a great bush of hair ornamented with red beads. The men of the Mozambique tribes seem to allow their fancy with regard to their hair a range unchecked by any fixed usage, and the results of their ingenuity in this respect are sometimes amazing. Plaits and bunches appear in an endless variety, and even the pigtail of the old British sailor, and the wig of flowing locks are not unrepresented. When the natural hair of the individual is not sufficient to accomplish the object he has in view, artificial hair is unhesitatingly resorted to.

The women are not less vain than the men, but their vanity manifests itself in other ways. For their hair they seem to have such little regard that the

majority of them dispense with it altogether, keeping their heads perfectly bald; where they retain the natural covering they rarely dress it, being quite satisfied with a short crop. With many other tribes a vagrant fancy with respect to the hair is not permitted; the men generally pay more attention to their hair than the women do, but the fashion is fixed, so that you may know to what tribe a man belongs by the form of his coiffure.

But though the woman has less regard to the arrangement of her hair than the man, she pays much more attention to the tattooing of her person. Men and women alike tattoo according to the fashion of their tribe, but with the women the tattoo is much more prominent, and a great deal more elaborated. In Eastern Africa tattooing seems to be more generally practised than in the Western and more central districts. With some tribes in Eastern Africa no part of the woman's person is exempt from this ornamentation. The cicatrice frequently stands out in bold relief, and is generally darker than the natural colour of the skin. This effect is not produced by one operation; the process has to be repeated again and again, and it must be sufficiently painful and disagreeable to deter anything but vanity of the most inexorable character. I once saw a young woman, who already had a very conspicuous tattoo, going through the process of re-tattooing. With a sharp, chisel-shaped knife, her sister was traversing every scar, and blood was freely drawn at every

incision. I denounced the operation, but the woman operated upon laughed at me, and said when it was all over she should have the best tattoo of any woman in the country, which seemed more than a sufficient compensation for the present discomfort. This, of course, is very barbarous, and these people are barbarians, but no worse than other barbarians;—no worse, indeed, in my estimation, than many of their civilised sisters in a Christian country, who, under the tyranny of fashion, compress their waists and otherwise injure and disfigure their bodies.

The tattoo is an indelible indication of a tribe, no two tribes tattooing alike; and it is one of the most potent methods of keeping up tribal distinctions and exclusiveness. It is one of the first things, therefore, setting aside the necessity of teaching the people that the body should be kept sacred from such a disfigurement, that missionaries and others anxious for the welfare of Africa should endeavour to break down. Indeed, wherever missionaries establish themselves, or wherever a Christian civilisation encroaches, this custom soon disappears.

But tattooing is not the only operation which the Africans practise on their bodies in order to improve their personal appearance. Earrings are general amongst men and women, and the hole in the lobe of the ear is sometimes so distended that a section of a good-sized bamboo rod can be inserted in it. In it the Kaffirs are in the habit of carrying their snuff-boxes. But some tribes are not content with one perforation

of the ear, they will pierce the rim of the ear in several places, and insert a ring in each hole.

With other tribes it is the fashion to bore a hole through the upper lip also. This operation is begun in childhood, most often on a girl, for this custom has rarely been met with in the male sex. Into the hole a plug is inserted in order to keep it open. As the child grows older the size of the plug is increased, and the lip is thrust more forward; and this process of enlargement goes on until the child has become a woman, by which time her lip is probably thrust fully two inches beyond her nose. Generally the lip is kept out by the aid of a ring, like a table-napkin ring, made out of the wood of the castor-oil tree, or of metal, but occasionally the plug is a solid block of white stone. Dr. Livingstone once met with a tribe who treated both the lips in the same way, and looked, therefore, as though they had duck-billed mouths. Some of the men of this tribe adopted this hideous habit as well as the women. This custom does not seem to prevail largely save about the lower lake districts; though Dr. Schweinfurth describes one tribe in the region of the Soudan that thus mutilated the under lip, the plug with them being a conical-shaped stone about four inches long. He also describes the women of the Bongo tribe as in the habit of perforating both lips, in many places to the entire extent of the mouth, but these people content themselves with a plug in each hole of no greater dimensions than a thin straw. Another tribe, a branch of the Dyoor, on

the Upper Nile, thrust an iron ring through the nose, the hole to admit it being bored indifferently through the base, the bridge, or the nostrils.

The teeth are not always left as nature produces them. Some, like the Batoka, knock out the front incisors ; others, like the Manganja, file them so that they are notched like a saw ; and many tribes endeavour to improve their personal appearance by chipping them in some form or fashion. Thus they effectually destroy the reputation with which we credit the Africans of being the best dentated people in the world.

Beyond these instances, except for a purpose with which the Jews and Mohammedans are identified, the Africans do not mutilate the body. With this one exception, it seems to me that vanity and folly have led them to these customs rather than any more serious cause. Indeed, they are very human these poor Africans, and in these as in other practices show their identity with the other members of the family of man.

Other methods of ornamentation they have which are not unlike our own, only being poor, untutored barbarians, they pursue them to a more extravagant extent than we do. They wear rings on their fingers, and bracelets of brass, and iron, and ivory on their arms and wrists, and bangles on their legs, and beads round their necks, and feathers on their heads, and paint on their faces. And they vary the use of some of these things almost as frequently as the fashion of extrinsic ornamentation changes with ourselves. At one period

blue beads will be the rage, at another red, and so on throughout all the variety of outward adornment of which they have any knowledge. We may laugh at their grotesque arrangement of such things, but the laugh is not always against them ; for I recollect showing a native woman the portrait of an English lady when crinoline was in vogue, and when she realised what the thing really was, she was convulsed with laughter at the idea of her English sister wearing the roof of a hut round her waist.

Of African houses there has been no lack of description. They are, for the most part, circular in form, and not as a rule large enough for our necessities. But though almost all are circular, yet certain differences exist even in them, so that scarcely any two tribes are found to have houses that are really alike save in their general outline. Some are better built than others, and many show much skill in their construction. The labour of building of a house is shared by the men and women. Generally the woman does the wall, if made of clay, and the floor, and the man sees to the timber work and the thatching.

I have been in some huts that evidenced a very low state of domestic life, and I have read of others that were even worse, but I doubt if the worst were much inferior to the habitations of some of our own people.

As a rule the African huts are not deficient in convenience, and are clean and well ordered. Much, of course, depends on the character of the chief of the village. If he be a dirty, idle fellow, the village will



in its condition answer to his character ; but where the head man has a proper sense of his position, and this is very frequently the case, an African village is by no means the uncomfortable and disgusting place which some people seem to think it.

The furniture of an African hut is for use rather than for ornament, and as the wants of the Africans are few, the furniture is not extensive. A sleeping mat, and perhaps a covering for the night, two or three water jars, a few cooking pots, some drinking cups, a hoe or two, and a variety of baskets, pipes and snuff pouches, bags of skin, and the warlike weapons of the man, of whatever character they may be, and that is all.

The enumeration of these articles reminds me that in Africa a man and a woman have to be equal to their own wants in all things. The community is not divided into sections pursuing distinct occupations—that is a product of civilisation—but what a man and woman need that they must make for themselves. The sleeping mat is of their own manufacture, and so is the earthenware ; and, considering they have no knowledge of the potter's wheel, some of their earthenware exhibits a marvellous power of manipulation. As basket makers they could successfully vie with many of our own workmen, and as workers in iron some tribes are really skilful. I have specimens of their handicraft—war axes, knives, spear heads, arrow heads, &c.—which quite warrant this assertion. Of course they cultivate their own fields and gardens, and

make the agricultural implements which they use in tilling the ground. They are fond of tobacco, which they raise for themselves; and in the manufacture of tobacco-pipes they show great ingenuity and taste; these vary in contrivance from a leaf and a straw, to a large bowl of wood elaborately carved, and inlaid with brass or iron. If they live near a river or a lake they make their own canoes; and if they are given to hunting, either on land or water, they manufacture all that is necessary to make sport successful.

Considering the many things which each man and woman has to do, and taking into consideration the general aptitude of the Africans to meet the emergencies of their life, they seem to me to show a capacity for which we rarely give them credit.

But this capacity leads to no improvement, one generation succeeds another, through long centuries, and the latest comer has not risen above the condition of his remote ancestors. This fact is urged against them as a proof of their essential inferiority to other races. It certainly is one of the mysteries of human life; but I am not prepared to admit that their inferiority indicates all that is claimed for it. Leave them alone, however, and they will continue as they are, if they do not sink into a lower condition than they now occupy, but their possibilities are nevertheless greater than a mere superficial knowledge of them would lead us to believe; and if we bring them under the influences, spiritual and temporal, that have raised us to the position which we

occupy, though they may in many things still differ from ourselves, for these differences of administration are in the natural as well as in the spiritual body, in all essential matters they will not in course of time be inferior to ourselves.

It is said that you may judge of a people by their amusements ; and if the Africans be tried by this standard, they do not occupy the lowest position in the scale of humanity. As a rule their amusements are not brutal. Apart from the fear and cruelty which their superstitions engender, they are a genial-natured, social people, and these qualities are manifested in their pastimes. Here and there, it is true, we hear of cases where some of them find enjoyment in the suffering of others, but that is true of individuals amongst ourselves, as well as of them : generally, however, their pleasant hours are not procured at the expense of their fellows, or of any living creature. Their feelings lead them to give as well as to receive pleasure, and the greater the number who share in the moment's enjoyment, the happier they are themselves. This I found to be the characteristic of the people I became acquainted with, and from the information I have gained from other men whose knowledge of the Africans embraces a far wider range than my own, I believe it to be true of them generally. Their sympathies are ready ; they are, therefore, quick to reciprocate your mood, and if you approach them in a cheerful, light-hearted manner, you will soon find that their disposition is in harmony with your own. It





CHILDREN AT PLAY.

has been said as a reproach to them, that they are not given to athletic sports, or any manly games. They do not, it is true, engage in the severe exercises in which we, the inhabitants of a colder climate, indulge, out of sheer love it may be with some, but as a refuge from the *ennui* of idleness with many. The necessities of their life, however, tax their energies and exercise their endurance quite enough, without these artificial aids to hardihood. The Spartan-like discipline to which a Kafir has to submit before he can assume position as a man, is rigid enough to tax the physical capacity and test the spirit of the strongest. He has to endure pain and hunger, to become swift of foot, and skilful in the use of his weapons of war; to obey the commands of his superiors, and to submit to a thousand discomforts as a duty; and his amusements, therefore, are less masculine in their character than many of our own. This is, to a great extent, true of the Africans generally, for even with the less warlike and more gentle-natured of the agricultural tribes, the requirements of custom and belief compel them to endure hardness, and submit to privations from which not a few of the hardiest amongst ourselves would shrink.

The African loves music and dancing; he loves during his idle hours to lounge about and gossip with his fellows, to joke and tell, and listen to stories, and play with his children. These are his recreations, and I cannot see that they are very inferior to those of the majority of our own people.

The Africans have a large store of legends and fables, with which they amuse themselves during their idle hours, some of which are not destitute of wit and imagination, as the following tale—*A Woman Transformed into a Lion*—will serve to show :—

“Once upon a time a certain Hottentot was travelling in company with a Bushwoman, carrying a child on her back. They had proceeded some distance on their journey, when a troop of wild horses appeared, and the man said to the woman, ‘I am hungry ; and as I know you can turn yourself into a lion, do so now, and catch us a wild horse, that we may eat.’

“The woman answered, ‘You will be afraid.’

“‘No, no,’ said the man, ‘I am afraid of dying of hunger, but not of you.’

“Whilst he was yet speaking, hair began to appear at the back of the woman’s neck ; her nails gradually assumed the appearance of claws, and her features altered. She set down the child.

“The man, alarmed at the change, climbed a tree close by. The woman glared at him fearfully, and going on one side, she threw off her skin-petticoat, when a perfect lion rushed into the plain. It bounded and crept among the bushes towards the wild horses, and springing on one of them it fell, and the lion lapped its blood. The lion came to where the child was crying, and the man called out from the tree, ‘Enough, enough ! don’t hurt me. Put off your lion’s shape, I’ll never ask to see it again.’

“The lion looked at him and growled.



"'I'll remain here till I die,' said the man, 'if you don't become a woman again.'

"The mane and tail then began to disappear, the lion went towards the bush where the skin-petticoat lay; it was slipped on, and the woman, in her proper shape, took up the child. The man descended and partook of the horse's flesh; but he never again asked the woman to catch game for him."—*Bleek's Hottentot Fables*.

I venture to supply the moral of this tale, for therein lies the wit, and knowledge of human nature. In Africa there are certain pursuits which are regarded as men's work, and others that are looked upon as women's work. The catching of game is especially the function of the man, and as a man would deem himself degraded by doing woman's work, so, as I conceive, this tale is intended to show that you turn the woman into a wild beast, a neglectful mother, and the terror of her husband, that you unsex her, in fact, if you put her to do man's work.

Children are the same wherever you may find them, and the spirit of play is as strong in the African children as in our own. Some of their amusements are like those of European children. They run races and wrestle; they have tops, balls, kites, slings, and rattles. More than our own children they are given to imitating the serious pursuits of their elders. Boys try to do in play all that men do in work or war; and the girls imitate their mothers by building little huts, making tiny pots, pounding imaginary corn,



carrying burdens on the head, and hoeing the ground. Indeed, this seems to be almost the only preparation they have for the work of maturer years.

To know what the Africans really are and what they do, you must see them unhampered by a foreign influence, and employed in those matters which are not strange to them. Put them, against their wills, to a daily occupation with which they have little or no sympathy, make them follow it day by day for a certain number of hours, and that elasticity of spirit which is common to them when engaged in their own pursuits leaves them; they are unwilling labourers and shirk their duty if they can. Colonists frequently complain that they cannot get the natives to continue long in their service; but they fulfil faithfully the time for which they have of their own will engaged themselves for their engagements, and having gained the wage they worked for, return to their homes to reap the full benefit of it. This habit may be inconvenient to the colonist, but I fail to perceive the justice of denouncing the native as an idle vagabond because he consults his own convenience.

The dances of the Africans are of two kinds—those in which they engage for mere amusement, and those connected with the rites and ceremonies of their social or religious life. The former are innocent, the latter are generally vicious in their tendency. Of the former I have seen many exhibitions which were quite unobjectionable, the arrangements, if not the movements, of the dancers being not inferior to some

of the best efforts of terpsichorean art in civilised lands. Now and then travellers and others have described, to our loathing, the dances of natives who have performed before them; but there, as here, you can find buffoons among men, and vile imitators among women, who, in song, dance, and pantomimic gesture, are shameful. But from this evil influence the ordinary dance, which is done for mere amusement, is as free as that which in our own land bears the name of Sir Roger de Coverley. The love of dancing is invariably associated with an affection for music, and this holds good of the Africans wherever they may be found. Their musical instruments do not, it is true, rise in the skill of their construction above the barbaric capacity, and their sense of harmony is very crude; nevertheless, their love of sweet sounds, or what they take for such, is great; and music has a charm for them greater perhaps than for any other barbarous people on the earth. Their sense of time is very accurate; a dozen drummers, performing on drums of different sizes, will thump away by the hour—aye, by the day—without a fault as to time, and in the dance a hundred feet will move invariably at the same instant.

But though sympathetic amongst themselves, out of themselves they find no enjoyments. The beauties of nature have no charm for them. A grand landscape excites no admiration. They may pluck flowers, and with them ornament their heads, but they do not think of cultivating them. The people I knew had

so little appreciation of the beauty of flowers [that they had no words to express their more delicate shades of colour. Black and white, red and green, blue and yellow, they distinguished by the same words that they gave to darkness and light, blood, and the leaves of trees, water and the sun, with the addition of the phrase "like unto." But for the variations of these colours they had no definitions: and I have not been able to discover that other races of Africans are superior in this particular to my friends. So with reference to the animal world, they found no pleasure in contemplating its beauty. The flight of a bird or an insect, or the graceful movements of other creatures afforded them no enjoyment. It is not that they are destitute of sympathy, but it is selfishly human in its range; it does not reach to any other form of nature. I do not attribute this to any organic defect; I doubt if any other barbarous race is more highly gifted. It is simply a question of education; and when Africans have in the matter of education advantages in any way corresponding to our own, I feel sure, from the indications I have seen in some of them, that they will manifest a capacity to perceive and appreciate the beauties of nature, and to take pleasure in all things that live which are not naturally loathsome.

Of the strength of their natural affections I have elsewhere given abundant illustration; yet I cannot quit this part of the subject without alluding to it *again*, for in one of his most interesting books, *Man*

*and Beast*, the Rev. J. Wood, in the chapter on Parental Love, makes the following statement :—

“Before beginning this subject, I cannot but remark the apparently singular fact that, whereas among the lower animals we find so many instances of the love of parents towards their offspring, we see so few, if indeed any, trustworthy accounts of filial love, or the love of children towards their parents. Yet the same analogy prevails in this as in other cases which have already come before us, and we must look to man if we wish to understand the lower animals. Even human nature must be highly developed before filial love can find any place in the offspring. In the savages it barely exists at all, and certainly does not survive into mature years.”

Now, if Mr. Wood knew from actual observation as much of human “savages” as he knows of the lower animals, he would never have ventured upon such an analogy. It is true that stories are told about some North American Indians and the South Sea Islanders, which might serve as a foundation for his argument, but nothing of the sort is true of the Africans; and from information I have obtained from men who have lived for years amongst the Indians, and the South Sea Islanders, I am certain that want of filial love is the exception rather than the rule amongst them. The filial affection of the Africans, whom I suppose Mr. Wood would regard as savages, is life-long—that is, where the mother is concerned, and, but for polygamy, it would, I believe, be equally strong with respect to the father.

One fact, however, is the crystallisation of a thousand arguments, says some one, and here is a fact which is truly typical of the race. Amongst those boys who were brought from the Central African Mission Station when the mission was removed from the Shiré districts, was a lad about sixteen. He first of all came to England, and then went back with one of the lay members of the mission to Natal. He was a bright-natured, clever lad, and the character of his life after he was removed from his own country was calculated to obliterate remembrance of his mother, but he could not forget her. His affection never faded. His brightest moments were clouded by his absence from her. Sometimes he would be in a state of melancholy, thinking she was dead; then he would dream of her, and become cheerful again. "It is all right," said he one morning, "I dreamt of my mother last night, so she is alive." And he would be happy, until the thought that she might be dead came again to him, and made him melancholy. A volume might be filled with corresponding illustrations. Indeed, this filial love of the Africans is one of the strongest features in their character; and, as I have shown in the extreme case of the King of Ashantee, it frequently leads them to do terrible things in order to give what they think a fitting expression to it.

Amongst the Kaffirs many customs which may be regarded as social, rather than religious, resemble those of which we read in the Levitical code. Some of the animals pronounced unclean by the Mosaic law are

held to be unclean by them. Ceremonial uncleanness is contracted as under the Jewish law, and the unclean live apart until the purification is complete. This is also true of the Ashantees, and many other tribes. They practise the rite of circumcision at the age of puberty ; and this, or an equivalent rite, is wide-spread in Africa. The necessity for undergoing some rite when emerging from childhood is not restricted to the boys ; it is incumbent on the girls, and the ceremonies attendant upon this rite are generally cruel in their character and vicious in their tendency. There is, however, this great difference, as might be expected, between these, and other customs of the Africans, and those of the Jews ; whereas in the case of the latter their tendency was to purity, in that of the former they minister to impurity. There is nothing so offensive in the lives of the Africans as their customs at certain periods of life. In them, though in a grosser form than characterised the ancient heathen, they do homage to the powers of nature, and honour them with observances which minister to sensuality. Dances, songs, gestures, and ceremonial, are alike abominable. Their harvest festivals also are akin in their character to the feasts of Bacchus. It is impossible to witness them without being ashamed. Men and women, who under ordinary circumstances are modest in behaviour and speech, then abandon themselves to licentiousness. Yet they are no worse than the Hindoos, and other heathen people ; and the principle which underlies all such

customs is the same as that of the licentious rites with which the Midianites and others seduced the Israelites, and which led the Greeks to regard as sacred the women who in the city of Corinth were consecrated to the worship of Venus. Heathenism now is what it was in ancient times. Its spirit is the same, though its details may vary. When not excited by their foul superstitions, the Africans very rarely shock you by improper conduct, but in the performance of some of the customs of their country, they do things of which, as St. Paul said of the similar deeds of the heathen of his day, it would be a shame to speak.

This branch of my subject might be lengthened to any extent by details that might without offence be given of observances attendant upon births, marriages, deaths, &c. ; but I must be content thus to indicate the principle which underlies, rather than describe the thousand and one ceremonies with which the uneducated mind, and the undisciplined imagination of the Africans have frequently invested, these events in their lives. Apart from heathenish complications, human nature, in its least cultivated form may be, is as apparent in most of the domestic and social features of their life as elsewhere. In the preliminaries attendant upon marriage, for instance, you may observe in an exaggerated and less refined form those that obtain in more civilised lands. It is generally thought that the Kaffir method of obtaining a wife, by giving so many head of cattle for her to the



parents, is a degradation to the woman. But the fact that she is paid for by her husband conveys no idea of degradation to a Kaffir woman. On the contrary, she looks upon the price paid for her as a proof of her own worth, and the more cattle that are paid for her the prouder she becomes. Neither would the husband like to have a wife without paying what is regarded as a suitable equivalent, because, in the first place, it would be a tacit assertion that the wife was worthless, and, in the second, it would be an admission that he could not afford to pay the usual price. Moreover, the delivery of the cattle on the one side, and the delivery of the girl on the other, are considered as constituting the validity of the marriage contract, and are looked upon in much the same light as the giving of a ring by the husband, and the giving away of the bride by her father, in our own marriage ceremonies.

And though this price is paid to the parents, it does not follow that the girl is allowed no choice whatever in accepting or rejecting a suitor. In some instances in Africa, as well as in more civilised countries, she is not permitted to have a will of her own, but as a rule the girl is not unwilling to marry the man of her parents' choice. All sorts of measures are generally adopted to make her think favourably of the man that has been accepted for her. Her friends will speak well of him, will praise his good looks, speak highly of his courage, and do their utmost to excite her imagination and feelings in his favour. They prevail upon her to see him, and he comes to the kraal



in his best attire, when, lord and master though he may prove by-and-by, his experience is a trying one. This is the girl's hour, and she uses her opportunity freely. She stares at him for a time in silence, she desires him through a friend to stand up and show himself off. She scrutinises him in this position, and then in that, and will after all leave him without showing him the slightest favour. After a time, if she consent to accept him, the arrangements for the marriage are made, but until the moment when she actually becomes his wife, the theory of allowing her to have a will of her own in the matter is maintained.

With the Mozambique tribes the course of events previous to marriage is more like that among the lower classes at home. The young people become acquainted with each other first of all, seek each other's company, encourage affection innocently, and when the girl consents she is asked in marriage of her parents by the young man. In doing so he offers a present, generally a fowl, which, if they accept, is a token that he is regarded as a recognised suitor. Previous to the wedding he builds and furnishes a hut, and hut and furniture are regarded as the wife's property. It is her dower, which is given by the bridegroom in these parts of Africa as well as in Zululand.

With these tribes it is not difficult to procure a wife: polygamy exists, but it is confined almost entirely to the chiefs and head men, and the female population is perhaps somewhat in excess of the male. In other regions, however, where the kings and great

men multiply wives in great numbers, and all who can afford it have more than one, a man of no great wealth or position has frequently much difficulty in getting a wife, and all kinds of expedients are practised to procure one; among which betrothment at a very early age, when, indeed, the girl is a mere babe in years, is common. Of course the betrothed is left with her mother until she is of the proper age to marry, the expectant husband in the meantime making occasional presents to his bride elect, and doing all that a man can do under such circumstances to enlist her affections in his behalf.

Chastity amongst unmarried women is rigidly enforced by some tribes. The Zulus, for instance, make unchastity in such a capital offence; but other tribes are more tolerant, and immorality amongst young people—which, however, is not so common as some might be disposed to think—is not visited with severe punishments.

Where polygamy prevails adultery is naturally not uncommon, though when discovered it is everywhere regarded as an offence deserving of punishment. In Ashantee, and Dahomey, and Zululand, an unfaithful wife of the king, though she be one of a thousand other wives belonging to the same man, is generally put to death. In less exalted conditions of life, however, the penalty is not extreme; a fine is usually imposed upon the offending man, and the woman escapes with but little hurt. Elsewhere in Africa the faithless wife is liable to a penalty more or less severe, but

most frequently escapes punishment altogether, as the enforcement of the penalty depends to a great extent upon the disposition of the husband, who, unless he thinks his dignity is assailed by it, is generally disposed to condone the offence.

Prostitution, from its almost entire absence amongst barbarous races, would appear to be a product of civilisation. In Africa it is not altogether unknown. In some of the western districts, where polygamy is carried to an excess by the rich and the powerful, and the punishment for adultery is nevertheless severe, it is maintained by the chiefs as a protection for the young men ; but save in the Coast towns, and in other places where Europeans have broken down the unsophisticated native manners, it is not a feature of life that can be publicly distinguished.

## CHAPTER VII.

## AFRICAN SLAVERY AND SLAVE TRADE.

THAT slavery is the special heritage of Africans is a supposition that any encyclopedia would show to have no foundation in fact. It has existed everywhere, and amongst all people; and certainly ever since, and probably long before, the days of Abraham. It flourished amongst the Assyrians; it was a popular institution in Egypt (as the Israelites found to their cost); it is interwoven with the history of Persia; it existed amongst the Jews; the great nations of Asia have never been free from it; the Greeks and Romans enslaved many that they conquered; the Slavonic races are the descendants of men who battled for their freedom; and only the other day was it abolished in Russia. Indeed, it is probably no exaggeration to say, there are no people on the face of the earth with whom slavery has not been an institution, or who have not at one time or another been brought more or less under its baneful influence.

It is absurd, therefore, to speak of slavery as peculiar to the African race. It is true that from earliest time Africans have been enslaved. They are represented as slaves on ancient Egyptian monuments, but

they are not alone in that position. They have suffered with others, and of late more than others ; but they have not monopolised at any period of the world's history the curse of slavery.

The African slave trade and slavery, with which we are more immediately concerned, is the work of comparatively modern times. The discovery of America opened out a new career for slavery. Before there was any thought of enslaving the Africans on a large scale, the aborigines of the West Indies were brought into bondage by their European discoverers. Ill-treated and over-worked, they soon passed away. Africa was then resorted to for slaves to supply the place of the Caribs, who had been killed in war, wasted in the mines, or worked to death in the plantations. And thus it came to pass that the Africans have so largely partaken of the miseries of slavery.

The Portuguese were the first of all the nations of Europe to engage in the slave trade, and they have been the last to abandon it. But it was not long before other European nations entered upon this inhuman traffic. Spain and France, Holland and England, competed with Portugal, until, with characteristic energy, England became first and foremost in this iniquitous traffic. She not only supplied her own colonies with slaves, but, by a treaty with Spain, she obtained the monopoly of supplying the Spanish colonies also, both on the continent of America and on the islands.

The history of the European African slave trade in Western Africa needs but little consideration here, it is

well known. The extent to which it reached may be estimated by the fact that in the year 1840, fifty years after Great Britain had commenced an offensive warfare against it, 150,000 slaves were said to have been imported into the Brazils, Cuba, and Porto Rico. This implies a loss to Africa of at least 200,000 souls, for it may safely be assumed that 50,000 died before they reached their destination, or were slain and harassed to death in the wars that led to their capture. Furthermore, it is estimated that there are 14,000,000 of persons of African descent living on the mainland and islands of America. These people are slaves or the descendants of slaves. The majority of those who are free have but lately acquired their liberty. They represent in their numbers probably not more than a third of what were taken from Africa. For though the Africans have an irrepressible vitality, and multiply under circumstances that would be death to a feebler race, yet the wear and tear of the slave trade and slavery, as carried on by Europeans, was most exhausting to life.

Happily, the initiative taken by Great Britain against slavery and the slave trade has been followed by other European nations, and by the government of the United States; and though slavery in the Brazils, Cuba, and some other unimportant places under the rule of Europeans, still exists, the European slave trade is not only legally, but to all intents and purposes practically abolished.

But while we were stamping out this great iniquity in

the West, it was growing into vast proportions in the East of Africa ; and revelations have been made concerning the inland trade, across the northern desert, and along the valley of the Nile, which show that there is still very much to be done before this "open sore of the world," as Livingstone calls it, is closed.

Before I enter upon this feature of our subject, it may be as well to speak of slavery as it exists amongst the Africans themselves, for that to a great extent is the source of the greater evil.

Slavery amongst the Africans who are removed from foreign influence, is in many things very unlike slavery amongst civilised nations. It is far less harmful in its immediate results. It presents various aspects, according to the different characteristics of the tribes.

With the agricultural tribes it assumes a purely patriarchal aspect. Those who are in bondage are not called slaves, but children ; those to whom they are in bondage are called not masters, but fathers. The slaves have rarely been acquired by conquest, but mostly by inheritance, or in some less obnoxious form than war, and bad blood, therefore, is rarely found to exist between the "father" and his "children."

The chiefs and men in authority sometimes exercise an authority over their children that might be considered severely patriarchal, but generally within the boundaries of their master's territory the slaves have as much liberty of action as the free men. They are not compelled to labour for their chief's profit ; but when he goes abroad on a visit to a brother chief, they



are required to accompany him, or if he goes to war they are bound to fight for him. If inclined to stray, the chief can punish them according to his discretion. If such vagabonds get into trouble, their chiefs have to pay the penalties imposed; and if any slave-dealer is near at hand, they sometimes sell such rebellious children, in order to reimburse themselves for the expense which they have incurred. If no such means exist for disposing of the incorrigibly disobedient, to avoid future trouble, they will probably put them to death.

The Manganja were most ingenious in devising means for the forfeiture of their own freedom. In this, however, they were not unlike some other nations. In Siam, for instance, until within the last five or six years, many of the people were slaves. They were those who had become slaves not only by war, purchase, and inheritance, but by debt, and the operation of many customs whereby liberty was forfeited. Under certain conditions a man might sell his wife, his children, and even himself. And this is the case with the Manganja, and also, I believe, with the agricultural tribes generally. But the difference of condition between the bond and the free was not usually accompanied by any marks of degradation. All lived alike, all followed the same occupations. A stranger passing through their land would not know, from anything he saw to remind him of it, that there existed amongst them such a distinction as bond and free.



With the exception of the power which it gave to the chiefs and others to sell their slaves, or to dispose of them in any other way, slavery as it exists amongst the agricultural tribes of East Central Africa, when left untouched by foreign influences, is productive of no great harm. It does not degrade morally, and it scarcely seems to inflict a stigma socially ; and what is true of these tribes, holds good, I believe, of all others under similar circumstances.

This, however, is the brightest side of the question ; for wherever the slave-trader penetrates, there ensues a different state of things. The cupidity of the chiefs is excited ; and the desire to get guns and gunpowder, beads, brass wire, and Americano (unbleached calico), tempts them not only to make war upon one another, to steal men, women, and children from one another, but to sell their own people also. The old peaceful order of things is broken up. The strong destroy the weak. War desolates the country ; villages are burnt ; the fields are left uncultivated ; a fruitful land becomes a desert ; and men, women, and children are everywhere killed or enslaved. It is not possible to exaggerate the evil effects of the slave trade in Africa itself. The reality surpasses the wildest flight of the imagination.

With the pastoral, that is, the warlike tribes, slavery assumes far severer aspects than amongst the agricultural. The bondsmen of such people are, for the most part, captives of war ; and at first there is not much sympathy between the conquerors and the con-





ON THE RIVER SHINGÉ.

quered. The uncivilised man shows little tenderness to those he has defeated in battle. Self-interest may lead him to spare their lives, but towards them his tender mercies are generally cruel.

The Makololo were the only people of this class with whom I became personally acquainted; and my knowledge of them was limited to the individuals of that tribe who were associated with Dr. Livingstone, when the Universities' Mission met him at the mouth of the Zambezi.

There were only two genuine Makololo men; the others, fourteen in number, belonged to the Batoka or Bashubia tribes that had been conquered by the Makololo. By Livingstone and ourselves they were all regarded as free men, but by the two Makololo the Batoka and Bashubia were evidently looked upon as slaves. Their bearing towards them was haughty in the extreme. They seemed never to forget that they belonged to the dominant race. When angered by the others, I have heard the Makololo exclaim, "If we were at Linyanti (the capital of the Makololo country) I would kill you." And in their own land I have no doubt, from what they have told me, that they had the power of life and death with regard to their slaves, and that the Batoka and other subjugated people had a very hard time of it.

When Livingstone left the Shiré he left all these men equally armed, and though the two Makololo succeeded for a time in exercising lordship over the rest, in the end the Batoka and Bashubia rebelled

against their rule, and as they were numerically the stronger, and knew how to use their guns, they succeeded in freeing themselves from all control, and assumed the air and bearing of those who had lately been lords over them; and lorded it over the Waiou and Manganja, who were in their neighbourhood.

Our presence acted as a check upon these burly fellows, so that they could not really enslave any of the natives of the country, but they had those in their immediate neighbourhood so much under control, and treated all who were brought under their immediate influence with such severity, that it was easy to imagine what their condition would have been had we not been there.

They never permitted that familiarity which existed between the Manganja chiefs and their "children." Even in their hours of pleasure they maintained a proud reserve. Like the old Romans, they condescended to be amused, but held themselves aloof from any personal participation in the sport that amused them. They rarely danced, for instance, but contented themselves with the part of spectators. Anything more unlike the conduct of the Manganja cannot be well imagined. With ready sympathies they promptly responded to the summons to dance. It would not have satisfied them to look on; and father and children, chiefs and slaves, danced together, the one without sense of degradation, the other without being reminded of their inferiority.

But though for a time the subjugated tribes are

harshly, not to say cruelly treated by such people as the Makololo, and are made to drink the cup of their humiliation to the very dregs, their condition ultimately is much improved.

At first their conquerors may treat them with contumely and ill-usage, but they take the best of the women for wives, and the children of such unions are invariably regarded as members of the conquering race. The old and infirm may live and die the objects of the victors' scorn, "the hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their unyielding masters; but the stalwart youths are generally absorbed amongst the fighting men, and in a few years their origin is not thought of, they are regarded as members of the dominant community, and are made partakers of all its rights and privileges. It is in this way the fighting pastoral tribes maintain their strength and increase their power, until a region that at one time was subdivided between several tribes is governed by one that has absorbed into itself the strongest elements of the original holders of the land.

I doubt, however, if the most truculent of these war-loving Africans treat those they subjugate worse than the Romans treated many of their captives; or whether the condition of their slaves is worse than that which characterised the Anglo-Saxon thrall or the Russian serf.

These illustrations of slavery amongst these two classes of the African race might be elaborated into a volume by illustrations drawn from the records of travellers, yet little would be added but detail to this generalisation, which is sufficient for my purpose.

In Western Africa the system of slavery which exists amongst the natives has assumed a more complicated form. There some of the worst features of the European and Mohammedan complication have been engrafted upon the native institution. The slave trade of the west coast of Africa may be spoken of in the past tense, yet the social and domestic slavery of Western Africa is still a great evil.

Social slavery has its stronghold in the superstitious beliefs of the people ; domestic slavery is assimilated to and affiliated with the commercial spirit of the natives. With reference to the former, it seems that there are certain native tribunals which are made the agencies of extortion and oppression, and a custom prevails of giving credit to the native trader, he in return pawning his liberty to his creditors. These are the fruitful causes of this phase of servitude. Domestic slavery, however, is the greater evil, and seems to bear far more hardly upon the women than the men.

According to some, all the women in West Africa are slaves, whether they are mothers, wives, daughters, or even sisters of kings. They are not only bought and sold, but are completely at the mercy of their owners, whether their destiny be death or dishonour. This may be theoretically true, even as it is theoretically true that all the women of his kingdom belong to the king of Dahomey, and that the great chief of the Makololo has the right to claim every woman of the tribe, married or single, for his wife.

But human nature in Africa, as well as in other parts



of the world, as I have before said, is stronger than mere theories, and where women are least regarded, their position is not so bad in actual experience as those who study theories, rather than the actual facts of life, assume it to be.

Another feature of domestic slavery in West Africa is the fact that along the palm-oil rivers in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and also at Lagos, a man who is himself a slave may be the owner of another man, or of several men, each of whom might be the owner of men in turn. This, however, is probably true only of the districts mentioned.

In Ashantee—and this state will serve to illustrate the condition of slaves in other purely military governments—slaves are made in a variety of ways. Prisoners of war, if not executed, are of course slaves; but misconduct and debt are the most fruitful sources of slavery. From these latter causes, however, many are slaves only for a time. A man may purge himself from his misconduct or free himself from debt, and thus regain freedom. A man may, for an advance of money in merchandise, pawn his wife or children, or even himself, and they that are pawned are virtually slaves until they are redeemed. But the greater number of Ashantee slaves are brought from the interior, mostly by Mohammedans, for in Ashantee, where gold is plentiful, it is the fashion with the great men to multiply slaves, so that it is not unusual for one man to own as many as a thousand.

The position of the slave amongst these barbarous people, who strive to vie, according to their ideas of it,



with European greatness, is, without doubt, very painful. They are exposed to the brutal caprice and cruelty of their owners; yet I doubt if slavery amongst the natives of Africa, even in its worst form, is so degrading to human nature as with civilised people. I question if it anywhere bears the same opprobrium, as in other parts of the world, where the African is the slave of the white man. The distinction between master and slave is not so broad; the sense of an essential inferiority is not so great; for, though there may be cruelty, there is no real denial of brotherhood, and none of that almost ineradicable repugnance which is caused by difference of colour, and other physical peculiarities. Of this, however, we are certain with regard to slavery in Western Africa, its extinction, in whatever form it may manifest itself, is not very far off. No man can now be held as a slave in any of the British territories, or in any territory over which the British protectorate extends. The influence of Great Britain is extending every year in Western Africa; and though there are independent native states that for a time may uphold slavery as an institution, and the unnatural traffic that is bound up with it, they will in time surely give way to the slow, but never yielding encroachments of Christianity and civilisation. We have now to consider slavery and the slave trade from another point of view, as carried on by and existing amongst people in Africa, who are not Africans. Until very lately, and I am not certain that it has yet ceased, both slavery and the slave trade existed

amongst the Portuguese in Africa, and especially in Eastern Africa. In common with ourselves, the Portuguese made the foreign slave trade illegal years ago, but they permitted slavery to exist in all their African colonies, consequently the slave trade continued. Nominally this traffic was maintained in order to supply the Portuguese colonists with servants, in reality it was carried on with the view of supplying the foreign purchaser. When I left the Zambesi at the end of 1863, four large Spanish ships were cruising about the coast, endeavouring to escape the vigilance of our cruisers. They came professedly for rice, but rice is not grown to any great extent by the Portuguese in East Africa; and I knew, from information that I had received while in the land, that at several places along the coast their human cargoes were ready for them, could they have found the opportunity of taking them off. Happily, they could not accomplish this, for two of these ships were captured by our cruisers, and, as they were manifestly fitted up for the slave trade, they were condemned. The others, taking fright, went back empty to the place from whence they came.

This trade with Cuba, for these Spanish vessels undoubtedly came from that island, was not the only foreign trade in which the Portuguese were engaged. The French *engagées* system, while it was in force, was mainly maintained by slaves that were exported from the Portuguese colonies. Indeed, so profitable was this system, that the Portuguese who lived away from the seats of Government such as Mozambique, Quillimane,

Inhambane, &c., sold to the French nearly all their domestic and agricultural slaves.

When I first went into Africa the Portuguese were busily engaged in the slave trade. They were at this time getting slaves : (1) to supply the places of those they had sold to the French ; (2) for the purpose of disposing of them in exchange for ivory to a tribe that lived far inland, and who, having been unfortunate in war with the Matabele, had lost to their conquerors most of their women and children. With the view of getting slaves, the Portuguese traders sent their agents to the Shiré highlands, a new field of operations for them, and were carrying away the fruits of their abominable enterprise at the rate of about two hundred slaves per week.

They deny that they instigated the slave war which we found raging between some of the highland tribes, but we ascertained beyond a doubt that until the Portuguese traders appeared on the scene, war did not exist. I am quite sure that they promoted war between tribes that were in any way antagonistic to each other, and did their best to keep it going, by supplying the combatants with guns and gunpowder, that they might buy for slaves the prisoners which the contending tribes made.

As is well known, Dr. Livingstone and the members of the Universities' Mission encountered the Portuguese slave-traders, and released many of their captives. This much-canvassed proceeding put a stop to the slave trade in the immediate neighbour-

hood of the Mission ; but for some time afterwards it continued to flourish in districts that by distance were removed from the influence of the Missionaries.

Since 1864, however, I have reason to believe that the Portuguese have not been extensively engaged in this horrible traffic. The representations of Dr. Livingstone, and the publications of the missionaries, created an amount of indignant public feeling, which was felt not only at Lisbon, but through the Portuguese Home Government, even at Tete, the head-quarters of the Portuguese slave-traders in East Africa. Added to which the Portuguese have been sorely tried, since 1864, by the rebellion of a tributary chief named Bonga, whose fortified village on the Zambezi I once visited. In alliance with some other tribes, this man attacked the Portuguese at Tete, defeated them, destroyed the town, and drove them away from all their possessions on the river. Again and again they tried to recover their lost ground, but in vain. Troops were sent from Europe, only to be defeated by Bonga and his allies, and it is only just now that they have been able, by diplomacy, to secure a footing in their old quarters. We may, therefore, confidently hope that, in so far as European Christians are concerned in carrying it on, the slave trade in Africa has virtually ceased.

Of slavery, as it existed amongst the Portuguese themselves, I had abundant means of obtaining knowledge. At Tete, at Quillimane, at Mozambique, and at settlements some distance removed from these head-

quarters, where law and order are nominally enforced, I saw what it was ; and it was far worse in its effects, both upon master and slave, than I thought it could be. The depravity of morals which it had engendered amongst the masters as well as amongst the slaves is literally indescribable. The most loathsome forms of vice are common, and perpetrated almost without concealment. The cruelty practised was such as almost surpassed imagination. To justify this last statement, I could produce many facts that came under my own immediate observation, but two only must suffice.

(1) When at Tete, the day previous to our departure, I gave my men, the natives who had accompanied me from the Misión station, a goat, in order that they might feast with the friends that they had made during our stay. I dined with the Governor that night, and, on returning to my own quarters, found my men in a state of indignant excitement. The cause was this. They invited a boy who had been used to fetch them water to partake of their good cheer. He was the slave of a small trader living in Tete, a white man, who called himself a Christian, and who came to the place of feasting, and caught this boy in the act of eating a piece of meat. Seeing this he became furious with rage. He seized the boy by the throat and nearly strangled him ; he beat him about the head and face until he was not recognisable ; and at length he threw him down and jumped upon him. Wherefore ? Because he had forbidden him to eat flesh of any sort. Said

he, as he left the child apparently lifeless, "I told him not to eat meat. He shall not eat it. Meat makes the creatures (he used a viler word than this) proud."

(2) As I was leaving Quillimane for Mozambique, just before the ship left her moorings, a slave was brought down to the whipping post, which was close to the river, by four men (soldiers), each of whom was armed with a rod made out of hippopotamus hide, a single blow from which seems almost sufficient to ruin an ordinary muscle. I say this with some certainty, for I possess a counterpart of these instruments of torture. A civilian, dressed daintily, and who used an umbrella to shield his person from the rays of the rising sun, and who smoked cigarettes meanwhile, accompanied them, and looked on at the proceedings. He was, I was told, the master of the slave. The slave was bound by his feet and wrists to the whipping post, and then the soldiers commenced to beat him, two on and two off, as they grew tired, and they continued until I had counted more than five hundred strokes. "He is dead," was the careless remark of a Quillimane man, who stood close to me on the deck of the vessel, watching what I have described. He may have been, for he had long ceased to show signs of life, and when he was untied from the whipping post he fell down as one that was dead. Then the man with the umbrella, still smoking a cigarette, strolled away towards the town.

"What was this man's offence?" I asked of the

men about me. A shrug of the shoulders, as though that was of no consequence, was the only reply.

These are not exceptional, but illustrative cases of cruelty, or I would not have mentioned them. The more vile effects of slavery amongst the Portuguese in Africa will not bear publication.

The slave trade and slavery has been the curse of the Portuguese in Africa. Everywhere you see amongst them that deterioration of character, that indifference to honest enterprise, which invariably accompanies this wicked pursuit. The advantages of their position were great, but instead of developing the resources of the country, one of the richest in Africa, they surrendered themselves to this most unnatural traffic, and now that commerce in human beings has been made illegal, most difficult, and only by chance profitable, they live on in an idle debasement. On God's earth, I believe it is impossible to find amongst Christian men a worse state of things than you meet with amongst the Portuguese in Africa.

It is true that slavery is to be abolished this year (1876), when a new era of colonisation will begin; but I fear this long-delayed reform will be found to be too late, for not only are the Portuguese themselves utterly demoralised by slavery, and unfit to make a right use of this new order of things, but from Delagoa Bay to Cape Delgado their hold upon their possessions is disputed by the natives. Within fifteen miles of Mozambique, where their power is most manifested, their authority is disregarded, and they have lost



control of the navigation of the Zambezi. They sowed slavery—they have reaped decay. They have robbed the land of hundreds of thousands of its people, and now find none but enemies where the country is not depopulated.

We have now to consider the slave trade and slavery in Africa, as carried on by and existing among Mohammedans.

In a book written by the late Mr. W. Winwood Reade on Africa, I find this passage: "Mohammed, a servant of God, redeemed the Eastern World. His followers are redeeming Africa."

The course and nature of this redemption will be shown in the operations of the slave trade as carried on from Zanzibar and Egypt.

The slave trade on the east coast of Africa is now almost confined to a trade between the dominions of Zanzibar on the one hand, and the coasts of Arabia and Persia on the other. The dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar extend along the eastern coast of Africa from the equator to ten degrees south latitude, and include the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Momfia. The head-quarters of the Government is the island of Zanzibar, which lies opposite to the centre of the coast line, and about twenty-five miles from the mainland.

The population of Zanzibar is estimated at 300,000, of whom 240,000 are slaves. The slaves are all Africans. The owners of slaves are: (1) Arabs of Oman, who are the chief landowners; (2) Suaheli,



who are the half-caste descendants of the old Arab settlers from Oman and Yemen in Arabia ; (3) Comoro islanders, who, as a rule, are masters of the slaves that are hired out as day labourers in the town of Zanzibar ; (4) Arabs from certain of the coast towns, who are the owners of most of the porters and working gangs of slaves ; (5) Persians, some of whom are said to be notorious slave-dealers ; (6) Half-castes, by Indian (Banian) fathers and negro mothers, many of whom are owners of land and slaves. The Banians are natives of India, who avail themselves of the British protectorate, and are therefore rightly regarded as British subjects. They are the principal traders of Zanzibar, and until very lately not only held slaves themselves, but supplied the slave-traders with the means of prosecuting their trade, and reaped largely of their profits. They number altogether nearly 4,000. Many of the slaves at Zanzibar are employed as agricultural labourers ; the cultivation of cloves and other things being carried on to a large extent. The town of Zanzibar is the recognised outlet of the produce of the interior. It is the chief market in the world for the supply of ivory, gum, and copal, and has a rapidly increasing trade in hides, oils, seeds, and dye woods ; while sugar and cotton promise to figure largely amongst its future exports. Consequently, large numbers of slaves are employed in other than agricultural pursuits, for free labour is now almost unknown. Thirty years ago, it is said, the island of

Zanzibar had a free peasantry, who laboured not only on their own fields, but also for hire. They have now, to a very great extent, disappeared, for slavery has made labour a degradation, and the free men who used at one time to work on the quays as porters would now consider it infamous to do so.

The exhaustion of slave life in Zanzibar itself is great. This is not caused by hardships and cruelty, for, as a rule, I have no doubt that the Arab master is kind to his slaves, whenever they have settled down with him. The cruelty takes place in bringing them from their homes in the interior to the coast, and in transporting them across the seas. Yet it is nevertheless true that the Africans, when free and in their own villages, increase and multiply, but when in bondage at Zanzibar they are almost barren. Marriage is permitted and encouraged amongst the slave population, but it decreases nevertheless, and, at the lowest computation, from four to five thousand additional slaves must be annually imported from the mainland to fill the places of those who have pined away in their enforced servitude. Mr. Churchill, who was political agent and consul at Zanzibar for some time, says, with regard to the treatment of slaves at Zanzibar, in his evidence before the Select Committee on the Slave Trade (East Coast of Africa):—"They are very well treated in the island of Zanzibar, but, of course, they are always slaves. The master has the power of life and death over them. He might be amenable to a local court of justice, but I do not think he would be

very severely punished for killing a slave. The blood-money of a slave varies according to the value of the slave himself. If he is what they call a green slave (that is, a slave just come from the interior), the blood-money is only twenty-five dollars; if he is at all accustomed to manual labour, it is fifty dollars. For an artizan, a bricklayer, and so on, it would be seventy-five dollars; and for a good-looking concubine it would be one hundred dollars. There is no restraint upon the treatment of slaves by their masters except their own interests, and the slaves are treated with the same sort of kindness that we should treat a horse."

But the number of slaves required for the so-called domestic purposes of Zanzibar form only a fraction of the whole number actually brought from the interior. During the years 1862—67 the number of slaves known to have been exported from Kilwa alone amounted to nearly 100,000; and large numbers were also exported from other places on the coast. Probably as many as 30,000 slaves were exported annually during the years mentioned; and it is only since our last treaty with the Sultan that this number could have been diminished, as the custom-house of Kilwa, which is at the southern limit of the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, was the custom-house through which all slaves that were not smuggled had to pass, and the tax that was levied on the slaves constituted an important item in the revenue of the Sultan. From Kilwa the large majority of the slaves were shipped to

Zanzibar, the rest were carried direct from thence to the northern ports. At Zanzibar, the slaves were sold either in the open market, or direct to the dealer, and were then shipped in dhows for Arabia and Persia.

The cruelties and horrors of the slave trade are described in the following quotation from a report addressed to the Earl of Clarendon by the Committee on the East African Slave Trade :—

“The persons by whom this traffic is carried on are for the most part Arabs, subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar. These slave-dealers start for the interior, well armed, and provided with articles for the barter of slaves, such as beads and cotton cloth. On arriving at the scene of their operations, they incite and sometimes help the natives of one tribe to make war upon another. Their assistance almost invariably secures victory to the side which they support, and the captives become their property either by right or by purchase, the price in the latter case being only a few yards of cotton cloth. In the course of these operations thousands are killed, or die subsequently of their wounds or of starvation, villages are burnt, and the women and children are carried away as slaves. The complete depopulation of the country between the coast and the present field of the slave-dealers’ operations attests the fearful character of these raids.

“Having by these and other means obtained a sufficient number of slaves to allow for the heavy losses on the road, the slave-dealer starts with them for

the coast. The horrors attending this long journey have been fully described by Dr. Livingstone and others. The slaves are marched in gangs, the males with their necks yoked in heavy forked sticks, which at night are fastened to the ground, or locked together so as to make escape impossible ; the women and children are bound with thongs. Any attempt to escape or to untie their bonds, or any wavering or lagging on the journey, has but one punishment—immediate death. The Arabs only value these poor creatures at the price which they will fetch in the market, and if they are not at all likely to pay the cost of their conveyance they are got rid of. The result is, that a large number of the slaves die or are murdered on the journey, and the survivors, at their destination, are in a state of the greatest misery and emaciation.”

This grave official statement (which applies as well to the Portuguese as to the Arabs), made after a searching examination of witnesses who were well qualified to give information on this subject, makes additional testimony needless as to the character of the slave trade still carried on by the Arab subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar. It affords a strange comment on Mr. Reade's assertion that “the followers of Mohammed are redeeming Africa.”

The large majority of the slaves are brought from the western side of the Lake Nyassa, a distance of nearly five hundred miles from the coast ; but Dr. Livingstone, in his “*Last Journals*,” has shown that the slave-traders have extended the field of their operations, and are now

at work in regions far west of the Lake Tanganyika. His descriptions of their proceedings amongst the Manyema reveal a state of things unparalleled for wanton wickedness and diabolical cruelty.

From the evidence of British officers in charge of her Majesty's ships employed in the suppression of the East Coast slave trade, it is certain that in the sea passage the slaves are frequently exposed to much suffering. They are packed very closely and ill fed; and in addition to the misery caused by over-crowding and insufficient food and water, the loss of life connected with the attempt to escape our cruisers is very considerable, it being not an unusual thing with the slavers to get rid of the slaves by throwing them into the sea, or by knocking them on the head, when pursued, in order to escape condemnation, should the dhow be captured.

Such was the Zanzibar slave trade, until the late treaty was forced upon the Sultan. Whether it be, as yet, really changed save in substituting a land for a sea route, at the cost of additional suffering to the slave, is very questionable.

By the terms of the treaty, the shipment of slaves from the mainland was limited to Dar es Salam, a port just south of Zanzibar, and prohibited entirely from any other place. Zanzibar was made the only port for the reception of slaves, with liberty to transport them thence to Pemba and Mombaza only. The exportation of slaves from Dar es Salam to Zanzibar, and thence to Pemba and Mombaza, was limited to

the actual requirements of the inhabitants of these places, and was to cease altogether within a certain time. The slave markets were closed at Zanzibar. The Sultan was to punish severely any of his subjects who are convicted of engaging directly or indirectly in the slave trade, or of molesting and interfering with a liberated slave. The Kutchees, and other natives of Indian States under British protection, were forbidden to possess slaves; and, finally, a stipulation was made providing for the eventual entire prohibition of the export of slaves from the mainland.

But though this treaty may not, as yet, have produced the full results expected from it, it is by no means a dead letter. It was forced upon the Sultan, against the will of his subjects. They do what they can to evade it, and outside its limitations still continue to carry on a vigorous trade; for the ready market found for slaves in Arabia and Persia, and the large profit made by the sale of slaves, will tempt them to continue the traffic at all hazards.

Nevertheless, the British Government is actively engaged in giving effect to the treaty. The slave markets at Zanzibar are not only closed, but exportations of slaves from Kilwa are stopped; and all who are under the British protection have been compelled to dispossess themselves of slaves. To accomplish this last object has been a work of no little difficulty.

Not only in the town of Zanzibar, but along the whole coast line of the dominions of the Sultan, these



Hindoo British subjects are to be found, and everywhere they have not only possessed slaves, but have been active agents in promoting the slave trade.

I close this section of the subject with an extract from the report of Captain Elton, Vice-Consul at Zanzibar, to whom was entrusted the duty of liberating the slaves held by British subjects. The Report is dated April 4, 1874. He says:—"I have now the honour to report the successful termination of a work entrusted to me by Dr. Kirk, in his letter of the 21st of November, 1873, in connection with the Treaty of June last, and slave-holding Indians.

"The annexed return will show the practical results. 1,409 slaves have been registered and freed, 499 of whom have commenced life anew; 920 remained with former masters, and, I believe, a very heavy blow has been struck at the slave trade. Some few cases of concealment have necessarily escaped detection, but the scandal of slave-holding British subjects on the 300 miles of seaboard travelled over may be considered virtually at an end, although it cannot be disguised that occasional inspection and prompt punishment in cases of offence against the law will be necessary to prevent matters gradually sliding back into the old groove.

"Active support and money lending for the purposes and ends of the traffic by the better class of Khojuh and Battiah merchants have beyond doubt ceased; neither do I think they will be renewed. The pains and penalties attached to complicity with the trade are



known to all, and the Indian will hesitate before placing himself in the power of the Arab and Swahili, who can at any moment repudiate his debts and procure his creditor's punishment.

"One of the results of the policy adopted has been to throw the Indian merchants more completely under our protection; their only link with the Arab Government being broken, a strong anxiety is evinced for increased consular superintendence of the coast and a suppression of the injustice exercised by coast officials.

"As shown by my previous reports, slaves continue to be marched up from Kilwa, almost daily, and by hundreds, over the Kisuju Road, north, destined for Zanzibar, Pemba, Lamo, and Brava. Smuggling is rife from all the Mrima between Mboamaji and Waseen, and preparations, it is said, are made on a large scale to run, with the change of the monsoon, to Arabia and the Persian Gulf. The transport by sea has, in part, been replaced by the inland route. The removal of all Customs duties is an advantage to the dealer. Formerly he had to pay 2 dols. 50 cts. to the Sultan's dues on each slave, besides chartering a vessel at a heavy rate, for which freight was paid in advance, and in order to get clear of Kilwa was compelled to borrow money at a ruinous rate. He was invariably in debt in former days; now he finds himself working on his own capital. After the Treaty he at once repudiated his accounts with the Indian merchant and as an experiment marched his slaves to the north, where he sold them at a large profit, returned by sea to Kilwa,

and was able to take advantage of the immense rise in prices owing to the demand for labour in Persia. As a result, the slave-trader who a year ago was heavy in debt and trammelled in every way, is now a capitalist, and able to pay cash for the goods required to equip his next large venture towards the Nyassa, in the country at the back of the Upper Rufigi. He no longer asks for credit, and it is not the merchant's business to inquire whether his ready-money customer is engaged in the traffic.

"At Brava and Lamo slaves are in large demand, and Pemba is still unsatisfied; neither will Arabia and the Persian Gulf be contented to forego their usual supplies. Hence it is certain that every encouragement is given to reckless smuggling. Should ventures from these parts succeed, a large access of capital will be the result; but even if they fail, sufficient capital is in hand from the immense profits of the past year to carry on the trade in 1874—75."

It must be owned that this is not altogether an encouraging state of things. But Great Britain is in earnest in this matter, and she is fully equal to meeting the requirements of the case as they arise. I wish that all who are interested in this question would read the whole of the report from which the above extract is taken; it is a Parliamentary paper, headed, *Slave Trade*, No. 7 (1874). It is a record full of interest, not only with regard to the special work which Captain Elton had in hand, but also with regard to the natives and the country.

Many things have contributed lately to lead people to think that the decay which seems to beset Mohammedan nations has been arrested in Egypt, and that there we have the spectacle of a revived Mohammedanism giving life to a new empire in Africa. But those who best know Egypt itself say that, notwithstanding the Suez Canal (a monument of European skill and enterprise) and Sir Samuel Baker's Expedition (an exhibition of British courage and endurance), the Egyptians have not changed. Withdraw from Egypt the presence and enterprise of Europeans, and the progress of the Egyptians will be found to be illusory. The Khedive is striving to build up a great military power, in order that he may be able, in time to come, to make the banks of the Nile the seat of a new Mohammedan empire. It was with this primary object in view that he commissioned Sir Samuel Baker to conquer the whole of the Nile basin to his dominion. Sir Samuel's desire to suppress the slave trade was real; but increase of territory, increase of revenues, increase of power, was without question the main object of the Khedive.

It is supposed that, as a philanthropist, and in the desire to abolish the slave trade, the ruler of Egypt is far in advance of his people; that may be quite true, yet he is too politic a man to act in advance of his people with regard to slavery and the slave trade. Slave holding is regarded as a necessity in the life of the Turks; and where slave holding exists the slave trade must exist also, for it is an inseparable adjunct

of slavery. In Egypt the only servants procurable are slaves. The palaces of the Khedive, the houses of his nobles, the dwellings of the common people, the bazaars, the fields, the roads made and making, all swarm with slaves, who, for the most part, have been brought from the interior of Africa within the last ten or fifteen years.

How have these slaves been procured? From time to time countrymen of our own who had been led by love of sport, geographical enthusiasm, or commercial enterprise into the preserves of the Egyptian slave-hunters, gave us glimpses of the state of things which there existed; but it was not until the publication of *The Albert Nyanza and Explorations of the Nile Sources*, by Sir Samuel Baker, that we realised clearly the extent and iniquity of the Egyptian slave trade. He it was who first gave us anything like a true description of Khartoum, the headquarters of the Egyptian slave-traders, and the operations of the wretched men who issue from it in order to harass, destroy, and enslave the natives.

The following passage gives his description of the *modus operandi* of the Khartoum traders:—

"A man without means forms an expedition, and borrows money for this purpose (a slaving raid), at 100 per cent., after this fashion. He agrees to pay the lender in ivory at one-half the market price. Having obtained the required sum, he hires several vessels, and engages from 100 to 300 men, composed of Arabs and runaway villains from distant countries, who have

found an asylum from justice in the obscurity of Khartoum. He purchases guns and large quantities of ammunition for his men, together with a few hundred pounds' worth of glass beads. The piratical expedition being complete, he pays his men five months' wages in advance, at the rate of forty-five piastres per month (nine shillings), and agrees to give them eighty piastres per month for any period exceeding the five months advanced. His men receive their advance partly in cash and partly in cotton stuffs for clothes at an exorbitant price. The vessels sail about December, and on arrival at the desired locality, the party disembark and proceed into the interior, until they arrive at a village of some negro chief, with whom they establish an intimacy.

"Charmed with his new friends, the power of whose weapons he acknowledges, the negro chief does not neglect the opportunity of seeking their alliance to attack a hostile neighbour. Marching throughout the night, guided by their hostile hosts, they bivouac within an hour's march of the unsuspecting village, doomed to an attack about half an hour before the break of day. The time arrives, and quietly surrounding the village while its occupants are still sleeping, they fire the grass huts in all directions, and pour volleys of musketry through the flaming thatch. Panic-stricken, the unfortunate victims rush from their burning dwellings, and the men are shot down like pheasants in a battue, while the women and children, bewildered in the danger and confusion, are

kidnapped and secured. The herds of cattle, still within their kraal, or 'yareeba,' are easily secured, and are driven off with great rejoicing as the prize of victory. The women and children are then fastened together, the former secured in an instrument called a shéba, made of a forked pole, the neck of the prisoner fitting into the fork, secured by a cross-piece lashed behind, while the wrists, brought together in advance of the body, are tied to the pole. The children are then fastened by their necks with a rope attached to the women, and thus form a living chain, in which order they are marched to the head-quarters in company with the captured herds."

This is but the commencement of business; a general plunder of the village and its surroundings then takes place; and everything that is valuable and can be exchanged for ivory is secured. The cattle are sold for ivory to their native allies, at the rate of a cow for a tusk, and for a time friendly intercourse is maintained with these friendly natives. But disputes soon arise, and they soon share the fate of those they have helped to destroy. Of course the profit on these transactions is very great. A good season for a party of 150 men produced about 20,000 pounds of ivory, valued, according to Sir Samuel Baker, at Khartoum at £4,000, besides the value of the slaves.

The expedition having achieved its object—

"The boats are accordingly packed with a human cargo, and a portion of the trader's men accompany them to the Soudan, while the remainder of the party

form a camp or settlement in the country they have adopted, and industriously plunder, massacre, and enslave, until their masters return with boats from Khartoum in the following season, by which time they are supposed to have a cargo of slaves and ivory ready for shipment. The business thus thoroughly established, the slaves are landed at various points within a few days' journey of Khartoum, at which places are agents or purchasers, waiting to receive them, with dollars prepared for cash payment. The purchasers and dealers are, for the most part, Arabs. The slaves are then marched across the country to different places ; many to Senaar, where they are sold to other dealers, who sell them to the Arabs and to the Turks. Others are taken immense distances to ports on the Red Sea, Souakim, and Maowa, there to be shipped for Arabia and Persia. Many are sent to Cairo ; and, in fact, they are disseminated throughout the slave-dealing East, the White Nile being the great nursery for the supply."

This was the slave trade on the White Nile when Sir Samuel Baker was on his expedition to the Sources of the Nile ; and to put an end to this traffic, to describe which all epithets in our language are too weak, was one of the objects he had in view when he took office under the Khedive. He thinks he has done much to accomplish this ; but with every disposition to think so also, I cannot, by the light of other information, agree with him. He annexed a vast territory to Egypt, and made successful war on all



the natives who wished to preserve their independence, and he drove the slave-traders from the river ; but he did not in any appreciable degree lessen the slave trade, or alter its accursed character. This is conclusively shown by Dr. Schweinfurth.

This German traveller may be regarded as a credible witness with reference to the Egyptian slave trade. He was not a philanthropist. He was evidently too enamoured of botanical science to have much feeling to spare for the natives. He had no prejudices against the slave-dealers, for they were his friends and companions. To achieve his object he allied himself with them, lived with them, went where they went, and no further. He saw all they did, and at all times he speaks dispassionately of their proceedings. I can detect no moment, no matter what was the nature of his experience with them, when he had not his feelings under perfect control ; and he confirms in every way the description given by Sir Samuel Baker of the slave-traders' operations ; but he also shows that his mission of conquest has proved most injurious to the natives subjugated, and that the slave trade is as active and as extensive as ever ; the only difference being this,—the slaves are obliged to take a long and exhausting land journey, during which many die of fatigue, along the valley of the Nile, instead of making a quick and easy passage in boats down the river itself. He says :—

“Baker accomplished nothing like a practical supervision over the local authorities of Kordofan, the



head-quarters of the Nile basin trade. Satisfied with having made a clean sweep, as he thought, of the waters of the Nile, he left alone what went on on either side of the great river highway. Hundreds of Gellababs, the pedlars of the Soudan, who are traders in slaves as well as in other things, are still in the land, each taking away from five to fifty slaves, and thus they carry on a business which brings many hundreds of slaves into the Egyptian market."

The larger traders are at work also, and the only real change that has been accomplished is the establishment of a land instead of a river traffic.

The description given by Dr. Schweinfurth of the state of things which exists in the country about the Nile sources is simply horrible. Men from Khartoum with their ruffianly associates have established themselves in stockades, called seribas, which they make their bases of operation for devastating the country. In their immediate neighbourhood the land, which once gave food to thousands of people, is depopulated, and is fast returning to the condition of an unproductive wilderness. By the aid of the Niam-niam and other powerful nations, they are preying upon the more peaceable tribes of the Soudan, and the number of slaves exported from thence, solely for purposes of profit, is probably not less than 25,000 a year. It is far more difficult—it seems next to impossible—to intercept the caravans that traverse the desert with these slaves, especially in the vicinity of a river where they can easily supply themselves with

water; for, as Schweinfurth says, the borders of such a desert are like the coasts of an unnavigable ocean. In the Egyptian Soudan itself he calculates that there are not less than fifty or sixty thousand slaves, and he classifies them as: (1) boys who are employed to carry guns and ammunition, every native soldier being attended by one or more; (2) men who act as soldiers, who constitute half the fighting force of the seribas; (3) women who are kept in the houses; (4) slaves of both sexes, who are employed in husbandry. These are the old people, who are useless for the market. (5) The slaves who are being continually drafted off as actual merchandise.

The conduct of the authorities at Khartoum, who are now, by the orders of the Khedive, under obligation to release slaves, seems most unsatisfactory. They never send back to their homes those whom they release. The full-grown men are turned into soldiers, and the boys and girls are distributed amongst the soldiers of the garrison, and the officials and principal Egyptians of the town.

Whatever the object of the Khedive himself may be with regard to slavery, it seems certain that, if it be to suppress it, it is at present unattainable. He cannot change the nature of his people, nor their habits, which from time immemorial have been moulded by slavery. Their creed sanctions it; and nowhere in the world is it more thoroughly engrafted in the social life of a people as in Egypt. It is the fashion to have a house full of slaves, and in Egyptian good society

their presence has become a necessity. The Khedive cannot go against the popular feeling of Egypt, and, probably, he has no wish to do so. The domestic slaves in Egypt are treated as a rule indulgently. They are nominally Mohammedans, for they are compelled to conform to certain rites of the Mohammedan religion in order that they may be qualified to fulfil the duties of their office. But as European improvements are in vogue, there are many slaves now who are simply labourers. No effort is made to change their religion, they remain heathen, and as such are excluded from the sympathies of their Mohammedan masters, for the followers of the prophet regard all such as no better than the brute beasts; their lot, therefore, is a hard one.

The waste of slave life in Egypt is relatively greater than at Zanzibar, and thousands of slaves, therefore, are required every year to fill the void made by those who have died.

This, then, is the present condition of things with regard to the slave trade and slavery in connection with Egypt. And here again is a commentary upon Mr. Reade's assertion that the followers of Mohammed are accomplishing the redemption of Africa. They are doing their best to make redemption impossible. And though it is the fashion with some nowadays to praise it, modern Islamism is simply destructive. Wherever it penetrates, deserts are made, and it obliterates all traces of nationality or race. Sir Samuel Baker, in one of his earlier books, truly estimated the

influence of Egypt in Africa, when he said, or rather repeated what some one else had said, "Grass never grows in the footsteps of the Turk."

There is one other theatre of the slave trade, to which I can but allude. That portion of the Soudan which is not under Egyptian rule in any way, but which stretches right across the continent, and comprises such independent states as Darfur, Dar-Saley, Bornou, &c., is largely involved in the traffic in human beings, and has been ever since it was first conquered and occupied by the Saracens, who traversed the Great Desert in order to reach it. The slaves exported from thence are carried across the desert to the Fezzan, where they are disposed of to merchants connected with Morocco, and other Mohammedan states of North Africa, or are sold to Ashantee, and such like native nations. The trade here is no less repulsive in its operations than elsewhere, and, as I have elsewhere said, the passage across the Desert is frequently attended with a more horrible waste of life than takes place in any other part of the continent.

I do not think that the followers of Mohammed in these regions now seek to proselytise the heathen ; I believe that their whole energies are given to enslaving them ; but the people of Senegambia and others were undoubtedly converted to Islamism by the successors of those warlike Saracens who first conquered the country ; and thus it is they are saved from the fate which has so cruelly overtaken the tribes that have clung to the superstitions of their forefathers.

The slave trade is now almost exclusively carried on by Mohammedans, by Arabs, and Turks, who range, virtually unchecked, the whole of Africa north of the fifteenth parallel of south latitude that is not under European influence. In this fact lies the great difficulty in the way of our attempts to suppress the slave trade. They do not regard it from our point of view. There is nothing in their religion which stamps it as shameful. The influence of European public opinion does not touch them. While the demand for slaves exists, the supply will be forthcoming; and at present I see but little hope of checking the demand. The end of this accursed traffic will come, but some years will, I fear, pass away before men will be able to speak of the African slave trade as an iniquity of the past. Nevertheless, it is one of those great wrongs against which we must strive, and continue to strive; and it will not be the least glory of England that above all nations she was instrumental in crushing this gigantic evil out of life.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA.

AMONGST those who listened to St. Peter on the day of Pentecost were dwellers "in Egypt and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene"; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that some of these strangers from the land of Ham were included in the three thousand who were then added to the Church; and that on their return to Africa they made known the message of salvation to some of their brethren. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that at a very early period of the Church's history Christianity was established at Alexandria.

St. Mark is generally supposed to have been the founder of the Church of Alexandria; indeed, Eusebius expressly mentions him as the first bishop of that city, and says that vast numbers both of men and women were converted to Christianity through his instrumentality. It is certain that the Christians at Alexandria soon became numerous, for a letter written by the Emperor Adrian, in the year A.D. 134, manifestly proves that at that time they formed a large and important part of the inhabitants of this, the second city of the empire.

The Church, thus established, still exists, but in a

very degraded condition. The Copts are the representatives of the old Egyptian Christians. During many centuries their ranks have been thinned by Mohammedan persecutions, by secessions to Islamism, by the encroachments of the emissaries of the Roman and Greek communions, and they probably do not number now more than 150,000 families.

It is, doubtless, the greatest misfortune of the Egyptian Christians that they have in an essential matter departed from the faith, and, consequently, are not in communion with the Eastern, or any branch of the Western Church.

They are Monophysites, a sect of Christians whose doctrinal error consists in the confounding of the Godhead and Manhood of Jesus—in maintaining, that is, that the Divine and human natures of our blessed Saviour were so united as to form only one nature: a heresy that was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. But though the modern representatives of the ancient Christianity of Egypt are brought very low, we should show ourselves very unthankful if we forgot that the Alexandrian Church, during the early periods of its career, rendered great service to the Church at large. It sent forth missionaries to India and to other parts of the world; it produced a long list of learned and saintly men, who strove valiantly for the truth, and maintained a high standard of Christian practice. To Athanasius, a patriarch of that Church, it is, under God, mainly owing that the Christian faith was preserved in its



integrity. That gallant soldier of the Cross stood, unmoved and almost alone, against the adversaries of the truth, "doing what a good man ought to do, and suffering what a good man may suffer in evil days—Athanasius against the world, and the world against Athanasius."

To the Church of Alexandria, also, must be attributed the conversion of Abyssinia. It is not improbable that some knowledge of Christianity existed in Abyssinia from the earliest periods of the Church—that the chamberlain of Queen Candace was not the only believer in our blessed Lord in Ethiopia; but such knowledge could not have been widespread, for the Christianity of Abyssinia is entirely unnoticed during the first three centuries of the Church's history.

The conversion of Abyssinia came to pass, it is said, in this way. A Christian philosopher, named Meropius, made a voyage in the Red Sea, having for his companions two of his pupils, Edesius and Frumentius. They were shipwrecked on the coast of Abyssinia, where Meropius was killed by the natives; but Edesius and Frumentius were carried as captives to the king, who treated them kindly, and gave them positions of trust about his person. On the death of the king they received their freedom, but instead of using their liberty to return to their own land, they remained in Abyssinia in order to educate the king's son until he became of an age to assume the sovereignty. They did more than this. Though separated from the ministrations of the Church, they did not forget their



duty as Christians, and so well did they use the influence which their position with the young king gave them, that when he came to the throne he and many of his people had been brought to a knowledge of the truth through their instrumentality.

On leaving Abyssinia, Edesius returned to his family; but Frumentius, bearing in mind our Saviour's words, "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me," went to Alexandria, and begged Athanasius to send a bishop with a staff of clergy to Abyssinia. His prayer was granted: and when the question arose as to who should be the bishop, Athanasius, looking upon Frumentius, said, "Can we find such a one as this in whom the Spirit of God is?" He, therefore, was consecrated first bishop of Abyssinia, his title being Bishop of Axum, which title is maintained to this day.

In its early days Christian Abyssinia held a far different position amongst the nations of the world from that which it now occupies. Its territory extended not only to the African shore of the Red Sea, but beyond its waters to the opposite coasts of Asia. It was very zealous for Christianity, and, before the Crescent had waxen great, it made a gallant stand against the encroachments of Islamism. But being left by other Christian nations to maintain the fight alone, it was defeated. Step by step Islamism drove Christianity, not only from the coasts of Asia, but possessed itself of nearly 400 miles of Abyssinian territory along the African coasts of the Red Sea, and thus excluded the

Abyssinians from intercourse with western Christendom. For many years this isolation continued.

In the seventeenth century, however, the Portuguese re-opened intercourse between Europe and Abyssinia. But theological prejudice turned a great opportunity for good into an occasion for hatred and strife. In Abyssinia the supremacy of the Pope was not acknowledged; the celibacy of the clergy was not enforced; the Holy Eucharist was administered in two kinds; the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone was affirmed; the doctrine of purgatory was modified, if not rejected; images, though not paintings, were forbidden in the churches; and like the Egyptian Christians, the Abyssinians were Monophysites. Rome could not tolerate this state of things, and employed the Jesuits to purge the Abyssinians from their heresy and schism.

Beginning at the fountain-head, the Jesuit missionaries strove to make a convert of the king, and succeeded. Under their advice and influence he proclaimed that the faith of Rome was henceforth to be that of the nation. But the nation would not obey its king; and persecutions, insurrections, and bloody conflicts ensued. In one battle many thousands of the people were slain. The king's party won the victory, but, the people still resisting, he felt that such another triumph would prove the ruin of Abyssinia, and he relented.

"Hear ye, hear ye," said he, in another proclamation, "we gave you the faith of Rome, for we believed it

to be true. Multitudes of my children have been slain ; we, therefore, restore the old religion—the faith of your fathers. Let your priests return again to their churches, and perform their accustomed ceremonies.”

Thus were the missionaries of Rome defeated, and the ancient faith of the Abyssinian Church restored. But with the departure of the Jesuits, the country was once more sealed up from free intercourse with Europeans.

The following extract from Dr. Neale's “History of the Holy Eastern Church,” shows what the constitution of the Abyssinian Church is, in reference to the Mother Church of Alexandria :—

“The Bishop of Axum is often called the Patriarch of Ethiopia, but this title is wrongly employed ; his proper jurisdiction is that of a metropolitan, but there are some peculiar limits to his power. He is never a native of Ethiopia, but an Egyptian ; his nomination and consecration rest with the Bishop of Alexandria alone ; and he has the right of consecrating bishops, provided the whole number in his province do not exceed seven. This, as the event proved, was a most unwise regulation ; it was apparently adopted at first by the jealousy of Alexandria, lest Axum should constitute itself a patriarchate. As twelve bishops were canonically required for the consecration of a patriarch, the limitation to seven obviated the danger ; but it has caused two great evils : it prevented the spread of the Gospel in Africa, and has been the

occasion of the heresy of the Abyssinian Church. Two years must necessarily elapse before a vacancy can be supplied, because of the length of the journey and the period required by the new metropolitan for acquainting himself with the Ethiopic and Amharic ; the former the language employed in the offices of the church, the latter that commonly spoken. No dues or offerings are expected by the see of Alexandria from Ethiopia, but it is usual, on the death of the metropolitan, that the king and nobles shall accompany their letters requesting the consecration of his successor with suitable presents."

The present condition of Abyssinia, both as regards the country and the church, excites sorrowful apprehension. The land is divided against itself; Christian is striving with Christian ; and the Mohammedans are gaining a marked ascendancy. Egypt has already seized upon the outlying provinces and the greater part of the coast line, and is ready, upon the first favourable opportunity, to seize the whole country. There are indications, both in Abyssinia and Egypt, that this opportunity will not be long delayed. Should Abyssinia pass under the rule of Egypt, the Christianity of that land will suffer a severe strain. It is enfeebled by heresy, and gross superstitions that partake largely of heathenism ; its powers of resistance, therefore, are not likely to prove great.

But though Alexandria and Abyssinia have been first named, it was in the great provinces of Northern Africa that Christianity obtained the widest influence.

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But though Alexandria and Abyssinia have been first named, it was in the great provinces of Northern Africa that Christianity obtained the widest influence.

The territorial limits of the North-African Church embraced Proconsular Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania. In these were some three thousand towns and villages, with a mixed population of Romans, Greeks, Jews, and Africans, both of Punic and indigenous race.

"It was a vast and fertile region, rich in commercial and agricultural resources, stocked with innumerable slaves, haunted at the commencement of the Christian era by a prolific brood of abominable superstitions. In this respect it was, even more than Rome or Alexandria, a sink of the whole world. Each race which had settled in the country had brought in with it its own peculiar rites; and each imported rite the prurient imagination of Africa had invested with new horrors. Human victims were sacrificed to Baal, under the Roman name of Saturn. Maidens were devoted to the *Vesta Meretricum*, the Syrian Astarte. Magical rites, divination, necromancy, fetish-worship, had, of course, grown apace in so rank a soil. Nor were the morals of the people better than their religion. Cruelty, treachery, and lust were national characteristics. A fanatical self-devotion—blood-thirsty, gloomy, insatiable in its greed for horrors—swayed the race alternately with a frivolity hardly more human. So that, notwithstanding the strong bridle of Roman law, and the so-called civilising influences of baths, theatres, and temples, the Cross, it is likely, was never set up on more unpromising soil." (*Mahon's Church History*.)

By whom the Church was first established there, is



not clearly known ; all that seems certain is, that at the end of the second century Christianity was widely spread over all the Roman provinces of Northern Africa, and that Carthage was to these regions what Alexandria was to Egypt and Abyssinia. But though the Carthaginian Church was amongst the latest of the ancient churches to begin its course, its career was rapid, and for a time most glorious. In the early struggles of the Church with the world there are no Christian heroes more famous than those who fought for the faith in Northern Africa, and no branch of the Catholic Church met with greater success.

“Rome, of the seed of Japheth, conquered Carthage, of the family of Ham ; but Carthage, although conquered by Rome in the conflicts of the sword, was not inferior to Rome in the nobler conquests of the Cross. Africa was the teacher of Italy. The earliest Christian literature in the Latin tongue did not grow up in Italy, at Rome, but in Africa at Carthage. Tertullian, the son of an African soldier, and who for his fervour and his courage may be called a Christian Hannibal, was the first great preacher of the Gospel in the language of Italy. The light of Christianity burns in his writings with the splendour of an African sun. It shows us what we may hope for, if Africa can be gained to the Gospel.

“Kindled at his light, but burning with a milder lustre, shone that other luminary of Carthage and Africa, St. Cyprian. Charitable and tolerant towards the weak, he was a steadfast upholder of Christian



unity. He knew and taught that the spiritual graces which flow from Christ as Divine Head, are dispensed to His members by means of the regular ministries of religion, and are vouchsafed to all who dwell together in loving communion with the Catholic Church. At the same time, it is clear that his principles of Christian unity were not mere speculative theories, but were living springs of Christian practice.

"At a short distance from Carthage was the city of Hippo, memorable in the history of the Church of Africa and the world as the episcopal see of St. Augustine. In him she possesses an expositor of Holy Scripture, whose mind was illumined by the Holy Spirit, and whose lips seem to have been touched with holy fire from the altar of God. He occupied the episcopal see of Hippo for thirty-five years, and in him the Church beheld one of the most beautiful examples of piety, learning, and wisdom, that was ever displayed in the acts and writings of a Christian bishop. To him Christendom is indebted for some of the strongest safeguards against dangerous error, and for some of the securest bulwarks of saving truth.

"We ourselves in England owe a large debt of gratitude to St. Augustine, in one respect especially. It was, by God's mercy, a distinguishing characteristic of the English Reformation, that it was not innovating but restorative; that it did not destroy or abandon any ancient truth, whether in doctrine or discipline, because it had been abused, but endeavoured to

remove the abuse, and to restore and confirm the use."—(*Sermon by the Bishop of Lincoln.*)

How widely Christianity spread in Africa is shown by the fact that, in the fifth century after Christ, there were not less than five hundred and sixty episcopal sees, with their dependent churches, in the north of Africa, from Egypt to Mauritania.

We thus see that during the youth of the Church Christianity obtained a great position in Africa; and that that land gave birth to many holy men who yet speak to us by their examples, edify and guide us by their writings, and preach to us by their lives and deaths. Unhappily, the ages of faith and love were succeeded by terrible periods of heresy, ungodly division, and cruel strife. The work of God was neglected. Faith failed, love grew cold, the Word of God was degraded, the Cross of Christ betrayed. Judgment after judgment, in warning of the still greater judgments in store, came upon the North African Church, but in vain; and then Islamism, like a destroying wave, swept over the Churches of Carthage and Alexandria, and left but a miserable wreck behind. Of the Church of Egypt, as it now exists, I have spoken; it is a melancholy picture of a depraved Christianity. Of the Church of Carthage nothing remains. If you traverse North Africa, you will find not a vestige of its early Christianity—wide regions, that once resounded with alleluias to the King of Glory, are now dumb His praise.

In tracing the causes that led to the downfall of

the North African Church, its declension and destruction are often assigned to the fact, that at no time was it really a missionary Church. It seems to be historically true that, while the Church of Alexandria sent missionaries to India and to other parts of the world, that of Carthage confined its energies to the maintenance of the faith within its own borders.

In the city of Carthage itself people used to gather from all parts of the world, and thus had opportunities of hearing the Word of God. Many of these strangers may have profited by such opportunities, and carried back to their own lands their wealth of heavenly wisdom. But this was no proper equivalent for actual Mission work; this was no substitute for the performance of a primary duty of Christian membership. For the heathens within reach of the Carthaginian Church, the Punic race that had been driven by the Romans out of the cities into the interior of the country, for the barbarous races of Africans, and for the Numidians and Mauritanians, no real missionary efforts worth the name seem to have been made. And in one of his most eloquent speeches on Missions, Bishop Wilberforce directly connects the downfall of Christianity in North Africa with this fact. He says :—

“There was a time when the whole of that northern belt of Africa was bright with Christian light. There was a time when Cyprian and Augustine knelt and prayed, and wept and suffered, and ruled in the great Churches of Northern Africa. There was a time when,

with the Church's rule, temporal prosperity abounded; when North Africa had almost superseded Sicily in becoming the great granary and storehouse of imperial Italy; when its rich fields, its abundant pastures, its beautiful woods, furnished to the Mistress of the Earth all that she needed for her luxury and her pomp. Then troublous times began to come; and we can now see why they came. We can see that that belt of Africa was contented to be a belt; that she thought she had the light of the Gospel for herself; that she stood there and made no sign to the heathen people below her; that she did not gather them into the Church; that she did not reproduce the Church in a native Church; that she was contented to be the Italian offshoot of the Church; was contented with the Italian principle, and left the native tribes unconverted: a wall of darkness edging the light of Christ's truth; a wall of barbarians lying beyond the irrigated district of civilisation, which Christianity had so abundantly watered.

"And the earthquake began to shake the land, and there were rumblings beneath, and the people were terrified, but they did not read their lesson. They went on, and on, in their dream of having their churches for themselves, never seeing that God was waking them up as a Church to know that they had received only to impart. And as they did not learn the lesson, the danger thickened, and the evil day darkened; and when the Mohammedan swept, as God's avenger, over the land, mark how the very

neglect of duty became the instrument of vengeance.

"The colonist had no one to fall back upon. He had no mighty Christian gathering of the natives, which should have arisen around their Christian teachers, and rolled back from them the fierce Mohammedan invasion. They were but the tenants of the soil, come from a distant land, and began at once to think of going back to their own shores. And so the wave of judgment swept on. It uprooted church after church, city after city, episcopate after episcopate, until the billows of darkness grew up, gigantic, like the sands of the neighbouring desert, where the light of the Cross had but a little while before beamed for the healing of the people.

"And can we doubt that this was God's uniform way; that it was no exception, that it was no sudden, no unusual manner of dealing? Is it not His universal way to give a trust, to require the discharge of the trust, and if the trust be undischarged—after warning, after forbearance, after clemency infinite—to remember judgment, and to hand over to another the opportunity that has been abused by him who would not perceive the day of his visitation?"

Here I may well leave this portion of the subject, and proceed to show how the opportunity for extending the kingdom of God in another part of Africa was given to another nation, and by it abused to its own loss and degradation.

The knowledge which the ancients may have gained

of Southern Africa was of no practical value to the world. Up to the time of the conquest of Northern Africa by the Mohammedans, little was known of the continent beyond the straits of Babel Mandeb in the East, and Mauritania in the West. For six centuries after the occupation of Northern Africa by the Mohammedans, naval enterprise was almost unknown to Europe, and during that period, with the exception of Egypt and Abyssinia, Africa was wholly given over to Mohammedanism and heathenism. But towards the close of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese, who then held a far higher position as a nation than they now occupy, inaugurated an era of maritime adventure. The loss of Egypt, and Syria, and Northern Africa to the Mohammedans, led to efforts being made for the opening of a new route to the East; and the Portuguese were foremost in all the attempts that were made to discover the long-sought sea-passage to India. In the course of their efforts, which were ultimately crowned with success, they explored the whole coast line of Africa south of the equator, and acquired a vast extent of territory both on the western and eastern sides of the continent. It was thus that Christianity, expelled from the civilised North, was brought in contact with the barbarous heathen races of Western and Eastern Africa.

In Eastern Africa the Portuguese had no European rivals, but in Western Africa, the French, the Dutch, and ultimately the English, made extensive settlements on the coast. Nevertheless, for a long period

of time the Portuguese maintained the supremacy; and as they were at first as zealous for the extension of God's kingdom as for their own aggrandisement, it seemed as though they would be equal to their opportunity, and build up great Christian empires on either side of the Continent. The missionary zeal of the Portuguese at this, the best period of their history, was great. No ship was permitted to leave their ports without being accompanied by one or more priests, and no nation ever had more devoted missionaries.

They made the kingdom of Congo the field of their principal efforts, but they also laboured zealously to convert the natives of Loango and Angola, of which they possessed themselves with the view to colonisation. For a time it appeared as though nothing could withstand the religious energy of the good men who strove for the conversion of Congo. The king was among the first of their converts, and though he relapsed into heathenism, when he found that Christianity imposed a moral restraint greater than he was willing to submit to, his son and successor felt none of his father's difficulties, and did all he could to promote the new religion amongst his people. Difficulties, as might be expected, arose; for many continued to prefer the customs and beliefs of their forefathers, and incited by the old heathen priests, rose in rebellion against the king, under the leadership of Pasanquitama, the king's brother. But, aided by the Portuguese, the king, who had assumed the



title of Don Alphonso, defeated the malcontents, and Pasanquitama, refusing to save his life by becoming a Christian, was put to death.

Soon after this event a large reinforcement of missionaries arrived from Portugal; and whatever fault may be found with the policy of these men, of their devotion to the cause they represented there can be no question. No danger appalled them, they shrank from no suffering, and they died willingly in the performance of their duty. This, indeed, may be said of almost all the missionaries, who, for nearly one hundred years, laboured amongst the heathen in those parts of Africa which were brought under the power and influence of Portugal. Though many of them quickly succumbed to fatigue, privation, and disease, others, nothing daunted, filled their places, for the missionary spirit survived amongst the Portuguese clergy long after it had become extinct in the nation at large.

It is not surprising, therefore, that within fifty years after its discovery by Diego Cam, the greater part of the population of Congo had become nominally Christian. The success obtained in Loango and Angola was almost as great.

In Eastern Africa the missionaries were equally zealous, and though their successes do not seem to have been commensurate with those achieved on the other side of the continent, many of the coast tribes accepted the new religion. For more than five hundred miles along the course of the Zambezi stations



were planted, which became the centres of a considerable population of native Christians.

What is the present condition of those parts of Africa where such triumphs were gained? Almost every trace of Christianity has disappeared from Congo, and the people are in a state of the utmost poverty, degradation, and ignorance. There is scarcely another community on the whole coast of Western Africa that does not compare to advantage with the people who now inhabit the country of the Congo. In Loango not a single Christian is said to remain amongst the natives, to testify to the days when the vast majority were the professed followers of Christ. In Angola, though this is still the seat of Portuguese government in Western Africa, the population is as heathenish, and as ignorant, as they were before the white man appeared amongst them. Morally, they are even more degraded, for they have superadded to their own native habits of life many of the worst vices of civilisation. In Eastern Africa, as I can testify from personal knowledge, the natives are almost, without a single exception, heathens, and those that are still under the immediate power of the Portuguese are in a far worse condition than the independent tribes.

The condition of the Portuguese colonies both in Western and Eastern Africa is most degraded. The flourishing towns, which were once the pride of Portugal, are almost all of them in ruins; and such as are inhabited have a miserable population of Euro-

peans and half-castes, and of natives who are heathens and slaves.

With respect to the condition of the Portuguese in the West of Africa, Dr. Livingstone says :—

“At Cassange we found about forty Portuguese traders, with large half-caste families. They have neither doctor, apothecary, school, nor priest; and when taken ill trust to each other and to Providence.

“Ambace, an important place in former times, but now a mere paltry village. It has a gaol, and a good house for the commandant, but neither fort nor church, though the ruins of a place of worship are still standing.

“St. Paul de Loando has been a flourishing city, but it is now in a state of decay. It contains about 12,000 inhabitants, most of them people of colour. There are various evidences of former magnificence, especially two cathedrals, one of which, once a Jesuit College, is now converted into a workshop, and in passing the other we saw a number of oxen feeding in its once stately walls.

“Massangano was once a very important town. It has now two churches and a hospital in ruins. There is neither priest nor schoolmaster in the town.”

I have been to Mozambique, Quillimane, and Tete, the principal towns of the Portuguese in Eastern Africa, and though there is still a semblance of power in the two former, their condition is most deplorable. Tete, Sena, and all other places of minor importance, are now destroyed. Of Zumbo, a once flourishing native

Christian settlement some miles above Tete, Livingstone says :—"As I walked about some ruins I discovered buildings of stone, and found the remains of a church ; and on one side lay a broken bell with the letters I.H.S., and a cross, but no date. We found afterwards this was Zumbo."

This seeming blight of a curse is not only on the possessions of the Portuguese, but upon themselves also. They are of all men who call themselves Christians, probably the most degraded. They appear to have lived in an atmosphere of depravity until it has become part of their very nature. It is almost needless to say that no missionary work is now attempted by the few ignorant, and generally immoral priests who are still to be found amongst the Portuguese in Africa. For the most part, I fear they are a shame to humanity—to say nothing of Christianity. As one of their own countrymen said to me, "Virtuous precepts from their lips are a perfect mockery."

What causes have led to this utter relapse of the native Christians into heathenism, and this melancholy deterioration of the Europeans ?

Various causes have contributed to this sad end.

(1) The missionaries were reckless in the administration of baptism. No one is more impressed than I am with the folly, not to say the sin, of unduly withholding baptism ; but one reads with sheer amazement of the indiscriminate and wholesale way in which the natives of the Congo were baptized. The missionaries appear

to have vied with one another as to which should baptize the greatest number of people. No preparation was required, no instruction was given, the only qualification was the consent or the wish to be baptized. One missionary baptized 5,000 people in a few days, and another, Father Merollo, boasts of having done the same for 12,000 persons in less than a year.

(2) The missionaries were guilty of an unholy accommodation of Christian truth and observances to heathenish superstitions and customs. Christianity, be it said, is only a sword against that which is evil ; it is conservative of all that is good wherever it may be found. It is the greatest unwisdom in missionaries not to make use of all that can be possibly utilised in what the heathen believe and do. There are many customs amongst the heathen that should be sanctified, not destroyed, and their imperfect conception of a truth, if rightly used, may aid the missionary greatly in leading them to accept the truth in its fulness. But, from all accounts, the Portuguese, in their desire to make converts, sacrificed both Christian principle and morality in many of the accommodations which they made to the prejudices of the heathen.

(3) Though it is possible, on the score of expediency, that the system of proceeding just indicated might have admitted of some justification if it had been followed by well sustained efforts to train the young natives up to a better way, this was not done. They were left as ignorant as their parents of the real spirit of Christianity : its truths were not taught to them, its practices were not

enforced, and no schools for their education were built. It is not surprising that this corrupt form of Christianity found no permanent lodgment in the hearts of the people. No doubt, some of the missionaries were far better than their system, and, by acts of love, gained the affections of the natives ; but it is pitiful to read in the records of Father Merolla, and others, of the ignorant abuse of the opportunity which they possessed of winning, possibly for ever, these regions of Western and Eastern Africa to Christ.

(4) Another cause of the failure of the Portuguese to establish Christianity in Africa was the attempt which the missionaries made to sustain their authority, when they found their influence waning, by a pretended exercise of miracles. This proved effective for a time ; but in the end they were found out, and their wonderful works were regarded with derision and contempt. In the estimation of the people they were beaten by the old heathen conjurers, who still remained in the land, and knew better than the missionaries how to appeal to the superstitious element in the nature of their countrymen.

(5) The action which was taken upon an injunction from Rome to use greater discrimination, and to be more thorough in uprooting all heathenish beliefs and practices, increased the alienation of the people from the missionaries. Several laws were enacted against heathenism in all its details, and enforced with cruel severity against the native heathen priests, and all who showed, or were suspected of showing them favour.

The native magistrates and chiefs, who were subservient to Rome, were the appointed ministers of justice; but when they were inclined to lenity, the missionaries themselves assumed the office of the executioner, and publicly flogged men and women who were found guilty of the slightest deviation from the prescribed rules of the Church.

A system so alien to the true spirit of Christianity became hateful to the people. It had no compensations in it. They were not less under the fear which their old superstition engendered, and they were denied the pleasures which it encouraged. Had there been no other causes at work to make this so-called Christianity intolerable, it is very doubtful if it would have lasted for any length of time, save by the application of sheer force. Chiefs and people groaned under the uncongenial tyranny of their spiritual pastors and masters, who, be it said, were tyrants from ignorance and misdirected zeal, rather than from wicked inclination.

(6) Various other circumstances contributed to make Christianity increasingly distasteful to the natives: the licentious lives of the Portuguese, their unscrupulous pursuit of wealth to the injury of the people, and the tyranny connected with their civil and military administration in the regions which they made their own; but it was the establishment of slavery, and the operations of the slave trade, which finally led to the abandonment of Christianity by the natives.

At first the missionaries resisted both slavery and

the slave trade, but, under the pressure of their countrymen, and it must have been with the sanction of Rome also, they ultimately blessed what at first they cursed. At Loando, there was, until lately, on the pier the marble chair on which the Bishop used to sit, and from which he gave his blessing to the slave ships as they put off with their human cargoes. The priests gradually became the possessors of slaves, and it seems to be clearly proved that some of them were actually engaged in the slave trade.

In the face of this glaring wrong it is surely no wonder the Africans abandoned the religion of the men who brought upon them such misery and suffering. A religion which exhibited in its teachers, and wrought in themselves the graces of God's Holy Spirit, and raised them from the degradation of barbarism into a higher social and intellectual life, would have been as lasting with them as with any other race ; but a religion which deprived them of their old heathen delights, and gave them no joy in the Holy Ghost, which left them in all things as degraded as they were when it found them, and which, in their estimation, brought upon them the curse of foreign slavery and the slave trade, was rejected by them with loathing. And I doubt if any other race of men, under similar circumstances, would have acted differently. But had the natives of the various places where the Portuguese had established Missions been inclined to cling to the new religion, they would have found it difficult to do so after the commencement of the slave trade. For it



was enacted by the government of Portugal that no Christian could be enslaved, consequently all efforts to Christianise the natives who were still heathen, as well as all efforts to maintain Christianity where it had found a home, soon ceased. The slave trade, therefore, acted in a twofold way, it drove the people from Christianity, and extinguished the desire to keep or to make them Christians.

A few priests, belonging, I believe, to the Order of Jesuits, strove for a time against the ill will and the ill deeds of their countrymen, but their resistance was not long tolerated; they were expelled the country, and the slave-trader, unchecked by the laws of God and the fear of man, pursued his wicked way.

I have dwelt upon these Portuguese Missions, because they represent what may be called the second phase of Christianity in Africa. During the latter part of the fifteenth, the whole of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese alone showed energy and zeal for the conversion of the Africans. Not only at Congo, Angola, and Loango, but also at Cape Lopez, St. Thomas, Fernando Po, Waree, Benin, Whydah, Elmina, Sierra Leone, Goree, Senegal, and elsewhere, they carried on Mission work; but at none of these places can any results of their efforts be found at the present day.

The French did not wholly neglect Mission work, but their efforts were feeble, badly sustained, and produced no abiding result. The Dutch were wholly given to trade, and made no attempts to evangelise



the natives with whom they came in contact. Their territory in Western Africa, like that of France, was nominally large, but outside the forts which, for the most part, they wrested from the Portuguese, they had but little power.

These so-called failures of Christianity in Africa, have led many to conclude that the Africans are incapable of appreciating the truths of Christianity, and of rising to the high standard of life which it enforces. I think, however, I shall be able to show that there is no real foundation for such a supposition ; but that there is, in the success which has attended the missionary operations of the present century, good reason to hope that Christianity is surely established amongst the Africans, and will grow and increase until the whole of Africa shall stretch out her hands unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

## CHAPTER IX.

## CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA.

OUTSIDE of the Roman Communion, the United Brethren, or, as they are commonly called, the Moravians, had the honour of being the pioneers of Mission work in West Africa. This sect of Christians, who have become famous as missionaries, are generally supposed to have been founded by Count Zinzendorf, a German nobleman, in the early part of the eighteenth century; but the Count's share in forming them into a distinct body scarcely corresponds with this supposition. Hearing that a number of people in Moravia, who called themselves Ancient Brethren, were exposed to persecution on account of their religious views, he offered them an asylum on an estate of his in Upper Lusatia, and in the summer of 1722 ten persons, one-half of whom were children, availed themselves of his invitation. Others, as opportunity presented itself, followed, until a considerable number of people were assembled at Hernhutt, the camp of refuge. The Count wished that they should unite themselves with the Lutheran Church, but they resolved upon maintaining their old Bohemian religion, constitution, and discipline. In this decision the Count at

length acquiesced, and he so far sympathised with the religious views of his protégés, that he ultimately became the head of the whole body, and was consecrated one of their bishops. But though Count Zinzendorf cannot be said to be the founder of the Moravian brotherhood, it is to him they owe their missionary enterprise. In 1731 he, when in Denmark, heard of the miserable condition of the slaves in the island of St. Thomas, in the West Indies, and on his return to Hernhutt, he spoke to the brethren of these people. His words made such an impression upon two young men that they offered to go to St. Thomas in order to teach the slaves the way of salvation. But for some time this offer was not favourably received by the congregation. The brethren looked upon the proposal as a passing impulse of youthful zeal, and the venture itself as beset with insurmountable difficulties. But after a year had passed away, finding the young men still of the same mind, the matter was referred to the lot, a method of learning God's will common to the brethren. The lot proved favourable as to one of the candidates, but unfavourable as to the other.

When the Moravians sent forth their first missionaries their numbers did not exceed six hundred persons, most of whom were poor exiles; yet from this little community there proceeded, in less than ten years after it was resolved to commence work for the conversion of the heathen, missionaries to St. Thomas, Greenland, St. Croix, Surinam, and Berbice, to the Indians of North America, to the negroes of South Carolina, to

Lapland and Tartary, to West Africa and the Cape of Good Hope, and to the Island of Ceylon.

The missionaries went forth in simple faith. They took with them, virtually, neither purse nor scrip; frequently they knew not how they were to get to the place of their destination, and generally they intended to support themselves by the labour of their hands.

In 1736 they made their first effort in West Africa, by sending out Christian Protten, a converted mulatto, and a brother named Huckuff, to the Gold Coast. They went to a place, which they called Christianberg, not far from Akra. Huckuff died soon after his arrival, but his companion laboured on for more than thirty years before he was called to his rest. Again and again was this Mission reinforced from Hernhutt, but as most of the missionaries died within a very short time, no important results were obtained, and in the year 1770 the Mission was abandoned.

The next effort of which we have any record was made in 1795, by the English Baptist Missionary Society, which sent two men to Sierra Leone, but these men proved themselves unfitted for their work, and the enterprise was abandoned.

In 1797 the Glasgow Missionary Society sent its first missionaries to Sierra Leone, but this venture also failed, and from a similar cause—the unworthiness of the men to whom it had been entrusted.

Towards the close of the same year the same Society despatched two other missionaries, Messrs. Ferguson and Graham, to Western Africa, with the

view of commencing a Mission in the Foulah country ; but that land being closed against them by war, they, after some painful vicissitudes, made their residence at Sherbro, with a chief named Adoo. But in less than two months they were both attacked with fever, from which they did not recover.

In 1799, when the Church Missionary Society was founded, there was no missionary representing any form of Christianity, not Roman, in Western Africa. But in 1804 the Church Missionary Society sent out its first missionaries to Sierra Leone, and from that time to this there have never been wanting representatives of our Church to bear witness unto Christ in West Africa.

The selection of the Sierra Leone region as a field for its first operations was made by the Church Missionary Society in consequence of the connection which had been established between that part of the country and England. That connection was brought to pass in the following manner. Lord Mansfield's celebrated decision that, as soon as a slave sets foot on English soil he becomes free, led to such a large increase of runaway slaves in England, that their presence seriously embarrassed those who espoused their cause. This difficulty was overcome by the formation of a free negro settlement at Sierra Leone, whither in 1787 four hundred freed slaves were despatched. In 1804 the slave trade was abolished, and Sierra Leone was then made a colony of the British Crown, it being arranged that it should be fed

with the slaves that should be set free from the slave ships by the British cruisers. The population of the colony from this cause soon increased, and the Church Missionary Society resolved that its first efforts should be made in the neighbourhood of these emancipated slaves, if not immediately for them. But no English missionary could be found for this enterprise; and to Messrs. Renner and Hartwig, two Germans, who came from the recently established Missionary College at Berlin, was entrusted the responsibility of inaugurating the work of the Church of England in Western Africa. The field that was chosen for them was the Susoo country, on the Rio Pongas, which is about a hundred miles north of Sierra Leone. The missionaries left England in March, 1804, and five weeks afterwards landed at Freetown.

It was thought prudent that the missionaries should for a time reside at Freetown, with the view of inuring themselves to the climate, and to be within reach of medical aid should it be required. Mr. Renner, finding no chaplain in the colony, undertook the charge of its spiritual concerns; but Mr. Hartwig, after suffering much from fever, fell away from the Christian fervour that led him to Africa, and returned for a time to England. His place was more than supplied by Messrs. Butscher, Nylander, and Prasse, also Germans, but it was not until March, 1808, that any of these good men were able to get to their intended destination. Nylander was constrained to remain at

Sierra Leone, the advantage of having at least one of the missionaries in the colony having by this time become apparent ; the others proceeded to the Pongas, and were well received, not only by the natives but also by the Europeans who had there established factories, and who for the most part were engaged in the slave trade. Their first station was at Bashia, and their first place of residence a factory belonging to a trader, who made it over to them on condition that they would teach his children. The education of children, some of whom belonged to the traders, others being the sons of the chiefs of the country, and others children that were rescued from slavery by the missionaries, constituted the principal work of the Mission.

The first of the missionaries who succumbed to the climate was Mr. Prasse ; but towards the close of 1809 the Mission was reinforced by the arrival of Messrs. Barnett and Wenzel, when it was resolved to extend the operations of the Mission, and the new comers commenced work at a place called Fantimania.

Early in the year 1812, Mr. Butscher went to England for the purpose of making the Society fully informed of the state of the Mission, and to gain additional assistance. In December of the same year he sailed again for Africa, having received the assistance of eight persons, several of whom were mechanics, and with stores of the value of nearly £3,000. Shipwrecked almost within sight of their destination, the missionaries lost nearly all of their



property, though they saved their lives, and arrived safely in the Rio Pongas.

The lay assistants, however, did not prove so useful to the Mission as was hoped. At the end of eighteen months only one remained, the rest had fallen away from their high vocation, or had sunk under the influence of the climate. For a time, however, the Mission appeared to flourish. The operations of the English cruisers had seemingly paralysed the slave trade, and the natives began to occupy themselves in a more legitimate traffic. But the slave trade revived, the chiefs returned to it gladly, and the missionaries were sorely tried. Nevertheless they were not faint-hearted; they strove valiantly against all the obstacles with which they had to contend. The building of a church was commenced at Bashia, and the foundations of another were laid at Canoffee.

In February, 1814, the Governor of Sierra Leone ordered three armed vessels to the Rio Pongas to bring away the slave-traders, and to destroy their factories. This expedition destroyed twelve factories, and some hundreds of slaves were recovered; but the effect which these operations had on the Mission was most injurious. For though the Susoos themselves had not been in any way molested, they were enraged with the missionaries, imagining that it was they who had induced the Governor to send armed ships to destroy the factories. In revenge, attempts were made to set on fire the Mission stations, which, though again and again defeated, at length proved but



too successful. The brave missionaries, however, would not forsake their work; they strove on, despite the inroads which sickness and death made in their numbers, until February, 1818, when the increased activity of the English cruisers on the coast again excited the anger of the natives, who met together to the number of four thousand, and resolved to burn all the Mission stations, and kill or drive away the missionaries. Feeling that further resistance would be useless, the missionaries abandoned the Rio Pongas, and retired, with the greater part of the children who had been under their care, to Sierra Leone.

Thus ended the first attempt to gain the Susoo country for Christ.

In the meantime the necessity for increased missionary work had become urgent in the colony. Some thousands of Africans, who had been released from the slaving ships, had been brought into Freetown. It being impossible to return any but a very few of them to their own countries, they were settled in villages in different parts of the colony, and were supplied by the British Government with food and raiment until they were able to support themselves. Among these freed slaves were many hundreds of children, who were practically orphans. It was, therefore, resolved to form an establishment in the neighbourhood of Freetown, where these destitute little ones might be educated as Christians, and taught useful occupations. To Mr. Butscher was assigned this important charge, and he proved himself to be fully

equal to it. A grant of land on the Leicester Mountain, one of a range of hills which rises behind Freetown, was made by the Government, and here the necessary buildings were erected, and sufficient ground to supply the community with food was brought under cultivation. For several years the establishment was conducted upon the original plan, but the necessity for native Christian teachers having forced itself upon the conviction of the Society by the fatal effects of the climate upon Europeans, and the great extension of its operations in the several towns occupied by the released slaves, it was resolved to change this Industrial School into an Institution, where the most promising African youths might receive a superior education, with the view of preparing them to act as Christian teachers amongst their own countrymen, or to fill responsible positions in the colony.

At first the missionaries seemed inclined to limit their efforts to the instruction of the young in the towns of the liberated slaves, but ultimately they gave themselves earnestly to the conversion and general improvement of the adults.

Foremost to undertake this arduous work were William Johnson and Henry During, both of them Germans; and of all those who gave themselves to the service of Christ in Western Africa, there are none who afforded brighter examples of personal holiness and untiring energy than these devoted men. But my object is not to individualise those who were

privileged, often at the cost of their own lives, to lay the foundations of the Church at Sierra Leone, but rather to illustrate their mode of proceeding, and to trace its results.

When we consider the condition and circumstances of the people who were placed under their care, it seems to me that the method which the missionaries pursued was wisely conceived, and best calculated to achieve the object they had in view.

When rescued, it would beggar the imagination to describe the wretched condition in which the slaves were generally found. It is an old tale, often told, the horrors of the "middle passage," and I am not going to dwell upon it. I do but allude to it that the condition of these liberated Africans, before they came under the care of the missionaries, may be the better understood.

When Mr. Johnson landed at Sierra Leone, he was appointed to Regent's Town, where there were about 1,000 freed people. He says of them:—"I confess that when I arrived, though I had heard much of the misery of the heathen, I never could have imagined that they were so wretched, and so cruelly treated by the slave-dealers, as I found the poor creatures liberated from the slave-vessels had been. Many were ill from having been packed so close in these vessels. Six or eight died daily; others bore the marks of the slave-trader's whip; so that the whole was a most distressing sight."

The moral condition of these people was fitly

symbolised by their wretched physical state. They were not of one tribe, but of many. At Regent's Town were collected the natives of more than twenty different countries. Tribal animosities were not effaced by their common misfortune, and frequently found expression amongst them in strife. When clothing was given to them, it was not easy to get them to wear it; they either sold it or threw it away. Not being under the restraints which the customs of their people imposed when in their own country, they herded together indiscriminately; all sense of natural modesty seemed effaced by the terrible and degrading ordeal through which they had passed. The old superstitions were, of course, not forgotten by them, and were clung to and practised all the more from the strange position in which they were placed. Their outward condition of life was revolutionised, and they knew not at first how to conform to its requirements. Some left the community, and lived apart in the woods, like wild beasts; others subsisted by theft and plunder, and scarcely any showed a desire for improvement.

This was the state of things when Mr. Johnson undertook the care of Regent's Town, and nothing, humanly speaking, could be more hopeless. But, full of faith, he set to work, his object being to teach them how to live in this world, as well as to prepare them for the world to come; and with what results will be seen from the following description of Regent's Town three years after Mr. Johnson had been there.

The town was laid out with regularity ; nineteen streets were formed, with good roads round the town. A large stone church was erected. A Government house, a parsonage, a hospital, school-houses, and many dwellings for the people, all of stone, were finished, or nearly so. The builders were the liberated slaves, whose seemingly hopeless condition has just been described. Gardens were attached to the dwelling-houses, and all the land in the immediate neighbourhood was under cultivation. The people had rice-fields, and grew cassadas, plaintains, yams, Indian corn, oranges, limes, pine-apples, ground nuts, guavas, and papaws, in great abundance. They had some horses, and cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry. A daily market was held for the sale of their produce, which on Saturdays was largely attended. Besides farming, many of the people had learned, in a certain way, various trades. There were to be found amongst them, masons and bricklayers, carpenters and sawyers, shingle-makers and tailors, blacksmiths and butchers. In various ways upwards of six hundred of these freed Africans had been enabled in that short space of time to support themselves by the fruits of their own industry.

The appearance and manners of these people had improved in an equal degree. They were decently clothed, and most of the adult population were regularly married. Instead of passing the night in dancing and drumming, they retired to rest after the labours of the day. The church on Sundays was regularly

attended by a congregation of twelve or thirteen hundred persons ; and at daily morning and evening prayer not less than five hundred were usually present. The schools contained upwards of five hundred scholars.

This reformation of manners in so short a time was most remarkable, and might be well regarded as merely superficial ; but in many there were indications of religion having become a real living principle of their lives. All had seemingly abandoned polygamy, fetish, and devil-worship. The baptized adults were in the habit of regularly partaking of the Lord's Supper, and the number of communicants was 263. With that impulsive sympathy which characterises the Africans, the converts were most anxious for the conversion of others, and were untiring in exhorting those who still held aloof to come to Christ.

At first the arrival of newly-released slaves was a trial, inasmuch as they greatly added to the missionary's burden of care ; but after a time these fresh arrivals gave rise to many interesting scenes, and showed in a conclusive manner the change for the better which had come over the people generally. On one occasion of this kind, as soon as a detachment of the newly-liberated came in sight, the people of Regent's Town ran out of their houses to meet them with loud acclamations of welcome. Those that were weak and faint they carried on their backs to Mr. Johnson's house. As they lay there on the ground, faint and exhausted, some recognised in them friends and relatives, and the cry of "My brother !" or "My sister !"

or "My countryman!" was again and again heard. The poor people, who had just been brought out of the hold of a slave-ship, were naturally amazed when they were thus recognised, and beheld, thus happy and prosperous, friends and relatives whom they thought dead. The generosity of the African disposition was always manifested on these occasions in the bountiful provision that was made for the wants of the new-comers.

I have seen, in Eastern Africa, almost corresponding instances of such recognitions as I have just described, and time will never efface them from my memory, never eradicate the impression they made on my heart.

Regent's Town probably presented the most striking example of the good results which attended the efforts of the missionaries; but other towns, such as Gloucester, Charlotte, and Waterloo, afforded instances of success almost equally great.

But it was not long before this work was tried by adversity, and at times so severe was the trial that it seemed as though it must fail. One after the other in rapid succession the men who had been instrumental in building it up were removed by death, while those who succeeded them came out, as it appeared, only to die. At best their labours were of brief duration. Congregations were gathered only, as it seemed, to be dispersed. Churches were built, and for months together none ministered in them. Schools were erected, to be filled for a short time only, and then



to be closed for periods sufficiently long to frustrate all the good that had been done in them. The Missions languished at times to the verge of extinction. The people in many of the towns where all had been so hopeful, became neglectful of public worship, and utterly careless. Some of them relapsed into heathenism ; others, instead of following regular employments, spent their time in sheer idleness, in sauntering about the country, or in lounging about their houses. Many of these backsliders were recovered in course of time, and remained steadfast in the faith and practice of the Christian religion ; but many also fell away, never to be reclaimed.

In these few words are compressed the trials and distresses of years. But through all those who promoted this good work never lost faith ; though frequently cast down, they did not despair, and at length a brighter day dawned upon Sierra Leone. The Mission rose above its difficulties, and gained a position, which it has never lost, a position greater than the greatest success during the most promising period of its early history warranted its supporters in anticipating. Various circumstances contributed to this end. The relief from the civil superintendence of the free towns, which had proved a great burden to the missionaries, and exhausted their strength and spirits ; the separation of the Mission schools from those connected with the Government, whereby the children of the converts were brought under a more efficient instruction with respect to religion, and removed from the



contaminating influence of the continual influx of the heathen children just released from the slave-ships ; the reorganisation, on a sounder basis, of the Christian institution for the supply of native teachers and pastors ; and, generally, a truer appreciation, the fruit of that knowledge which experience alone can give, of what could be done, and of the best way of doing it. Missionary after missionary, like most of those who had gone before them, after a too brief period of labour, as it seemed, was called to the "better land." But these sacrifices were not in vain ; the good seed sown did not wither and perish ; it bore fruit unto life eternal in a multitude of individuals, and in the establishment of many blessed agencies for good, whereby the work of Christ might be continued.

In 1848 the Church Missionary Society could report that their Mission at Sierra Leone comprised fourteen principal stations and twelve others ; twelve European missionaries, three native clergymen, and fifty-six catechists and teachers (native and European), two seminaries and fifty-seven schools, containing upwards of 5,000 scholars, and that nearly 7,000 persons regularly attended the services of the Church.

In 1850 the Church was established at Sierra Leone in the completeness of its organisation by the consecration of the Rev. E. O. Vidal, as first bishop of the colony.

Here I may fitly pause, in order to glance at certain collateral missionary ventures in Western Africa : the first of which to claim attention being an offspring of the Sierra Leone mission—viz., the Abbeokuta

Mission. The people who were brought into Freetown as released slaves represented almost every heathen tribe of Western Africa. No opportunity, however, presented itself for many years for carrying the message of the Gospel to the homes of these various tribes; but in 1839 some natives of Yoruba, who had become Christians at Sierra Leone, and had, by education and industry, been changed from ignorant barbarians into men of intelligence, enterprise, and property, formed themselves into a company, resolved to embark their all in the attempt to visit and establish a trade with their native land. With this intent they purchased a small vessel that had once been engaged in the slave trade, freighted her with European and colonial productions, manned her with a crew of African freed men, like themselves, and then set sail for Badagry, the seaport of Yoruba, from whence, in years gone by, they and hundreds of their fellow-countrymen had been shipped as slaves.

Their venture proved successful. They were well received at Badagry. They made a profitable sale of their goods, and returned to Sierra Leone with palm oil and other products of the country. This successful termination of their enterprise led others to follow their example, and it was not long before a regular trade was established between Sierra Leone and Badagry. All this caused much excitement amongst the Yorubans in the colony. A longing to return to their native land, to rejoin their families and friends, came upon them. There were serious

obstacles in the way of their return, and the danger of their being re-enslaved was really considerable; but the yearning for home was too strong to be overcome, and between the years 1839 and 1842 about five hundred Yorubans left Sierra Leone for the land of their birth.

This migration, taken in connection with the commercial ventures I have alluded to, proved the first of a series of events which led to the extension of Christ's kingdom to Abbeokuta. The way for such an extension was prepared by the people who had emigrated from the colony; for though many of them, as was feared, relapsed into heathenism through the temptations to which they were exposed by living amongst their heathen countrymen away from all means of grace, yet some remained faithful, and all spoke with gratitude of the kindness they had received at Sierra Leone, and thus made the English name respected amongst their friends. The accounts which were from time to time received of the Yoruba country were so favourable, that it was at length resolved to establish a Mission in that land, and Abbeokuta was chosen as the place where a commencement should be made.

In December, 1844, after a visit of inspection, the Rev. H. Townsend, accompanied by the Rev. C. A. Gollmer, the Rev. Samuel Crowther, a liberated African from the Yoruba country, who had been ordained by the Bishop of London, with their wives and children, and several native teachers and operatives, set sail from Sierra Leone for Badagry.

The missionaries found the country so disturbed by war that it was deemed unsafe to proceed to Abbeokuta, and they resolved, therefore, to commence operations at Badagry. The people of this place, though showing no direct hostility to the missionaries, were not willing to profit by their instructions; they were wholly given to the ways of their forefathers, and greatly demoralised by the slave trade. They were greedy of gain, and when they found that no immediate temporal advantage accrued to them from sending their children to the Mission school, they took them away. But in 1846 Messrs. Townsend and Crowther found an opportunity of proceeding to Abbeokuta, where they met with a friendly reception from the chiefs, and every facility was given to them for commencing their work.

The Mission thus begun has been carried on in hope and fear, and with very encouraging results. The people of Abbeokuta, though their history would seem to indicate that the providence of God was extended to them in a remarkable way, are as heathenish as any other of the tribes of Western Africa, and, like the Dahomans, given to human sacrifices, though not to the same extent. Converts were made, and were called upon to suffer many things, in consequence of their profession of Christianity, from the old heathen priests and others. The slave-trading chiefs, both on the coast and in the interior, sought to crush the rise of Christianity amongst the natives and to expel the missionaries. Foremost in these attempts was that of the King of Dahomey, though, perhaps, his enmity, and

the enmity of his successor, were political rather than religious. But from whatever cause arising, it is a perpetual hatred, which has given rise to repeated expeditions to destroy Abbeokuta. Hitherto, however, these efforts have failed, and we may well hope will soon cease, for though at this moment another attack upon Abbeokuta seems to be contemplated by the Dahomans, the interference of the British Government has been sought, and will probably be given, for the protection of Abbeokuta, which is now a town containing 150,000 inhabitants. These, and other disturbing influences, have made the work of God in the Yoruba country one of extreme difficulty, yet, through all, the missionaries have continued to labour; and in the Church Missionary Report for 1874 there is the following statement with reference to Abbeokuta :—

“At Abbeokuta the four principal stations are under the same management as before. Ake has for its pastor the Rev. D. Williams; Igboke, the Rev. W. Allen; Oshielle, the Rev. W. Moore, who also exercises supervision where the services are conducted by unordained catechists. It will be remembered that all these brethren are native Africans. None of the congregations have received any considerable accessions, with the exception of Ake (the largest and most important among them), in connection with which 30 adult converts from heathenism have been baptized, while nearly 100 candidates are seeking the same privilege. One of those baptized is a man of rank, having been an Ogboni, or member of council.

Signs of spiritual life have not been wanting. Discipline is observed; friendly communications with Ibadan are kept up; the remnant of native Christians at the Society's old station of Oyo have been visited and encouraged, and the scattered bodies of Christians in various farms and villages have been diligently looked after. The political aspect of affairs has improved. The Dahomians again marched against Abbeokuta; but, after encamping for some weeks within sight of the town, made a sudden and hasty retreat, sickness having greatly weakened their force. It is believed by some that one result of the Ashantee war will be to deter the Dahomian monarch from any further repetition of these hostile attempts." (This belief, be it said, is not borne out by facts, as subsequent events would seem to prove.) "Towards the close of the year (1873) the roads were opened for trade with Lagos. Still more recently, by invitation from the well-known friendly chief, Ogudisse, two of the Society's European missionaries visited Abbeokuta and were well received. Thus, through God's mercy, the Egba metropolis may ere long once again be the seat, not only of a native church, but also of a vigorous aggressive European Mission."

In the summary of the Yoruba Mission, we find that there are 8 stations, 10 native clergymen, 36 native Christian lay-teachers, 1,611 native communicants, 4,648 native Christians, 17 schools, and 1,345 scholars.

Mr. Crowther, now the Bishop of the Niger Mission,

was undoubtedly the agent who was mainly instrumental in laying the foundations of the Church at Abbeokuta. It was here, during the first years of his ministry, that one of the most touching events in his very wonderful life occurred—the discovery of his mother and sisters, from whom, when a boy, he was separated and sold into slavery. But though he laid the foundations, Mr. Hinderer's name will ever be associated with the building up of the Church in Abbeokuta, for, under God, he, assisted by his devoted wife, was the chief instrument in raising up the spiritual fabric which we now see there.

The next great effort connected with the Church at Sierra Leone is the Niger Mission. Amongst the native Christians who joined the celebrated Niger expedition in 1841 was Mr. Crowther, who was at that time thirty-three years of age, and he also accompanied the expedition of 1854. The natives, on this latter occasion, everywhere exhibited a friendly spirit. Several places were noticed as suitable for sites for Mission Stations; and Mr. Crowther was strongly convinced by all that he saw and heard that the country was open to Christian enterprise. "Having proved," said he, "the good will of the chiefs and people, the respect they have for their countrymen who have enjoyed greater advantages than themselves, their willingness to be taught, and their anxious expectation to see us fulfil the promise long made to the late King of Ibo, in this respect; I cannot but conclude my report by saying, I assuredly gather



that the Lord had called the Church to preach the Gospel to them." His convictions were shared by many others, and in 1857 the Niger Mission was commenced, which is conducted entirely by native African teachers, under the superintendence of the Right Rev. Bishop Crowther.

I cannot find space for details of this Mission. It has met, if not with a great success, yet with very much encouragement. Trials it has had, arising from the hostility of the heathen who persecuted the converts, and hindrances it has had, from the immorality of the nominally Christian native traders; but while there has thus been great need for prayer, there has also been abundant cause for thanksgiving. The attitude of the chiefs is everywhere more favourable to the Mission. The Bishop has lately taken up two new Stations, one on the banks of the Niger, opposite the town of Egga, and the other on the coast at New Calabar, where the chiefs have agreed to pay £200 to defray the opening expenses, and he has for this new work obtained the additional assistance of seven young men from the College at Sierra Leone.

As the Church Missionary Society's Report says:—  
"The immense importance of the Niger as a highway for trade, civilisation, and the Gospel, becomes increasingly evident. The Haussa and Fulah tribes on one side, and the mingled population of the Old Yoruba country on the other, are accessible by means of it; and in both of these directions signs are found



of a willingness to cultivate friendly relations as well with the British Government and merchants as with messengers of the Gospel."

The number of Stations connected with the Niger Mission (not including those just alluded to) is 6, native clergy 8, native Christian lay teachers 16, native communicants 146, native Christians 322, and scholars 170.

This is at present the day of small things with the Niger Mission, but it is nevertheless one of the most remarkable missionary efforts in the world, for no other branch of the Church can indicate a Mission where the Bishop, a full-blooded African, presides over a diocese where all the clergy are Africans.

But to return to Sierra Leone. Bishop Vidal's career was soon run. He arrived in his diocese at the close of 1852, and on his return from a visitation of the Yoruban Mission, where he confirmed nearly six hundred converts, was attacked by fever, and died on Christmas Eve, 1854.

To him succeeded Bishop Weeks, who was consecrated in 1855. It was during his episcopate that the second attempt to win the country above the Rio Pongas was commenced. This Mission was brought into existence in consequence of a suggestion that the inhabitants of the West Indies should co-operate in the efforts that were being made to Christianise Western Africa. It was resolved in 1850, at a meeting of the Barbados Church Society, which was

organised on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that a Mission to Western Africa would be an undertaking peculiarly suitable to the Church in the West Indies, and it was determined to commence Mission work on some part of the Continent unoccupied by the older Missions of the English and American Churches.

It was not, however, until the year 1855 that the opportunity for carrying this determination into effect presented itself. Then the Rev. H. J. Leacock, who was born at Barbados, where his family had been established for 150 years, finding that no one else answered to the call, offered himself for the work of the projected Mission. Mr. Leacock was then over sixty years of age, but the Bishop did not discourage his offer, nor did the Mission Board refuse it; though it was accepted with many painful feelings at the loss to Barbados of one who was greatly beloved and esteemed, and who was so valuable to the diocese.

Mr. J. H. A. Duport, a young man of African parentage, who had been educated at the Mission House attached to Codrington College, accepted an invitation to accompany Mr. Leacock.

There being no direct communication between the West Indies and the African coast, it was necessary that the missionaries should proceed to their destination by way of England; and it came to pass that they were fellow-passengers, from England, with Dr. Weeks, the recently consecrated Bishop of Sierra

Leone, under whose direction and superintendence their work was to be prosecuted.

The Rio Pongas, the river on whose banks the Church Missionary Society made its first effort, was chosen as the field for this fresh missionary enterprise. With the sanction of the Governor of Sierra Leone, Mr. Leacock and his companion were taken to their destination, which they reached on December 11th, in her Majesty's ship *Myrmidon*. The titular king of the Pongas consented to the missionaries residing in the land, and they made their first venture at a place called Tintima.

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was undoubtedly the agent who was mainly instrumental in laying the foundations of the Church at Abbeokuta. It was here, during the first years of his ministry, that one of the most touching events in his very wonderful life occurred—the discovery of his mother and sisters, from whom, when a boy, he was separated and sold into slavery. But though he laid the foundations, Mr. Hinderer's name will ever be associated with the building up of the Church in Abbeokuta, for, under God, he, assisted by his devoted wife, was the chief instrument in raising up the spiritual fabric which we now see there.

The next great effort connected with the Church at Sierra Leone is the Niger Mission. Amongst the native Christians who joined the celebrated Niger expedition in 1841 was Mr. Crowther, who was at that time thirty-three years of age, and he also accompanied the expedition of 1854. The natives, on this latter occasion, everywhere exhibited a friendly spirit. Several places were noticed as suitable for sites for Mission Stations; and Mr. Crowther was strongly convinced by all that he saw and heard that the country was open to Christian enterprise. "Having proved," said he, "the good will of the chiefs and people, the respect they have for their countrymen who have enjoyed greater advantages than themselves, their willingness to be taught, and their anxious expectation to see us fulfil the promise long made to the late King of Ibo, in this respect; I cannot but conclude my report by saying, I assuredly gather

that the Lord had called the Church to preach the Gospel to them." His convictions were shared by many others, and in 1857 the Niger Mission was commenced, which is conducted entirely by native African teachers, under the superintendence of the Right Rev. Bishop Crowther.

I cannot find space for details of this Mission. It has met, if not with a great success, yet with very much encouragement. Trials it has had, arising from the hostility of the heathen who persecuted the converts, and hindrances it has had, from the immorality of the nominally Christian native traders; but while there has thus been great need for prayer, there has also been abundant cause for thanksgiving. The attitude of the chiefs is everywhere more favourable to the Mission. The Bishop has lately taken up two new Stations, one on the banks of the Niger, opposite the town of Egga, and the other on the coast at New Calabar, where the chiefs have agreed to pay £200 to defray the opening expenses, and he has for this new work obtained the additional assistance of seven young men from the College at Sierra Leone.

As the Church Missionary Society's Report says :—  
"The immense importance of the Niger as a highway for trade, civilisation, and the Gospel, becomes increasingly evident. The Haussa and Fulah tribes on one side, and the mingled population of the Old Yoruba country on the other, are accessible by means of it; and in both of these directions signs are found

of a willingness to cultivate friendly relations as well with the British Government and merchants as with messengers of the Gospel."

The number of Stations connected with the Niger Mission (not including those just alluded to) is 6, native clergy 8, native Christian lay teachers 16, native communicants 146, native Christians 322, and scholars 170.

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It was not, however, until the year 1855 that the opportunity for carrying this determination into effect presented itself. Then the Rev. H. J. Leacock, who was born at Barbados, where his family had been established for 150 years, finding that no one else answered to the call, offered himself for the work of the projected Mission. Mr. Leacock was then over sixty years of age, but the Bishop did not discourage his offer, nor did the Mission Board refuse it, though it was accepted with many painful feelings at the loss to Barbados of one who was greatly beloved and esteemed, and who was so valuable to the diocese.

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religious life amongst our converts generally than we manifest ourselves. Considering the degradation from which those in West Africa have been recently rescued, the low condition of life in which their forefathers moved for centuries, and the temptations to which they are exposed by a little knowledge, and much opportunity for evil, it is really a cause for much thankfulness that they should manifest so high a degree of Christian life. For Christianity is manifesting itself in their lives, in the fruits of God's holy Spirit, in the great change which is taking place in their tastes and habits, and especially in their domestic life and in their social usages.

Christianity in Western Africa has but to be developed from the bases of the positions already secured, and, in God's good time, it will encompass the entire land. For this no new agencies are required; those that have the work already in hand will, I doubt not, be equal to the occasion. What is done is big with hope. There are no symptoms of decay; no indications of the failure which followed upon the efforts of the Portuguese, for the causes of that failure are not now at work. Christianity is placed on a far surer basis. The agencies of a Christian civilisation are co-operating to establish and extend the efforts of the missionaries; and the men who for the most part are engaged in this regenerating work are identified with the nation that has been most conspicuous in its efforts to put an end to slavery and the slave trade.

## CHAPTER X.

## CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA.

IN Southern Africa the prospects of Christianity are, to say the least, not less hopeful than on the Western side of the continent; for though the converts may not be so numerous, and the conditions under which Missions are carried on are somewhat different, the climate is better, the country more accessible, the government of England more widely extended, and the natives have no bitter memories of the slave trade, and are free from the debasing influences which are invariably associated with that wicked traffic.

Here, as in Western Africa, almost every form of Christianity in Great Britain has its representatives; and here, as in Western Africa, the Moravians have the honour of being the first missionaries who strove for the conversion of the heathen.

George Schmidt, one of the brethren, sailed from Holland for the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1737, with the intention of working amongst the Hottentots, who had been brought under the dominion of the Dutch, but for whom they had made no religious effort. So far from giving him encouragement, the colonists put many impediments in his way, and

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But this is an incomplete representation of Christianity in Western Africa. Other agencies than those of our Church are actively at work; indeed, almost every form of Christianity is now represented in Western Africa. At Cape Palmas and its neighbourhood, the American Church made its first missionary effort, and no effort for Christ has been more blessed. When, after thirty years of labour, Bishop Payne resigned the

oversight of this Mission, he could testify to the Church established, to converts multiplied, to the foundations of a native ministry laid, and to the undermining of the superstitions of the heathen in all the adjacent regions.

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The prospects of Christianity in Western Africa are most hopeful. The contrast between the present position of the country and that which it occupied at the commencement of the present century is certainly most remarkable. Then, along the whole coast of West Africa, the natives were living in unmitigated heathenism and barbarism ; the land was given over to the spoiler, and turned into a vast hunting-ground for slaves, and for thousands of miles it rang with the cry of woe and agony proceeding from the wretched

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But it is the higher life in Christ, which is everywhere exhibiting itself, that more than anything else indicates the wondrous change that has taken place in Western Africa. Mission stations and schools are scattered along some 2,000 miles of the western coast, and they have borne good fruit. I know that it is frequently asserted by travellers and others that the morality of the converted Africans is very low, that they fail to rise to anything like the standard of life which Christianity enforces. I believe that there has much more been made of this than the facts of the case warranted. That great social evils may co-exist with a state of society where many are leading a godly life, and all have some amount of Christianity, is shown by the condition of things in England and every other Christian land; and as the fount is, so are the streams.

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## CHAPTER X.

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IN Southern Africa the prospects of Christianity are, to say the least, not less hopeful than on the Western side of the continent; for though the converts may not be so numerous, and the conditions under which Missions are carried on are somewhat different, the climate is better, the country more accessible, the government of England more widely extended, and the natives have no bitter memories of the slave trade, and are free from the debasing influences which are invariably associated with that wicked traffic.

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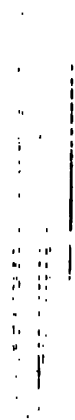
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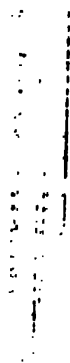
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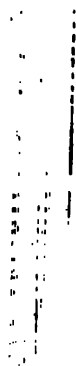
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of the Church's warfare with the heathen in this part of the world would fill volumes. Year by year fresh efforts have been made, which have gradually extended the Missions of the Church to the most important tribes, and which form the bases of operations that are destined, with the blessing of God, to deliver the unconverted inhabitants of that vast and important region from the power of darkness, and translate them into the kingdom of His dear Son. In every South African diocese something more than the foundations of the Church have been laid amongst the heathen, and there seems to be nothing to mar the hope and belief that the conversion of the heathen included in them will be of comparatively speedy accomplishment. The direct gain in the actual number of converts has been considerable, and may be accurately estimated; but the indirect results of Mission work, and the regulations of a Christian Government in checking oppression, in raising the standard of life, in undermining belief in the old and degrading superstitions, and in dispelling ignorance, even amongst those who are still professedly heathens, are also great and real, though they cannot be accurately gauged.

The Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for 1874 very forcibly represents this. In its summary of its operations in Grahamstown, where out of twenty-three missionaries nine are exclusively devoted to the heathen, it says :—"The native population of this diocese has greatly changed in many ways since our first Missions were founded more than

twenty years ago. The tribes were then governed by their own hereditary chiefs, who had almost absolute power over their followers. But year after year the power of the chiefs has been growing less and less, and the power and influence of the English residents and magistrates greater. The natives are now placed in various locations, each location being under the immediate care of a magistrate, the hereditary chiefs being paid head men under them. That this change is for the better will be acknowledged by all who have narrowly watched the progress of Christianity amongst these native tribes. Where ten years ago converts were counted by tens, they may now be counted by fifties. Wherever there is any number of natives congregated, there will be found not far distant the chapel and school-room, erected by one of the many denominations of Christians at present working amongst them."

Within the diocese of Grahamstown—and the native element is stronger in this diocese than in that of Capetown—there are about 164,000 natives located. Besides which there are also thousands of natives employed as servants upon the European farms, or residing in the towns, or squatting on Government waste land. The Church may not as yet be fully equal to the demands which this great native population makes upon it; nevertheless, in no part of South Africa have greater efforts been made for the conversion of the heathen, or so large a measure of success achieved. And now that the diocese of Grahamsto-

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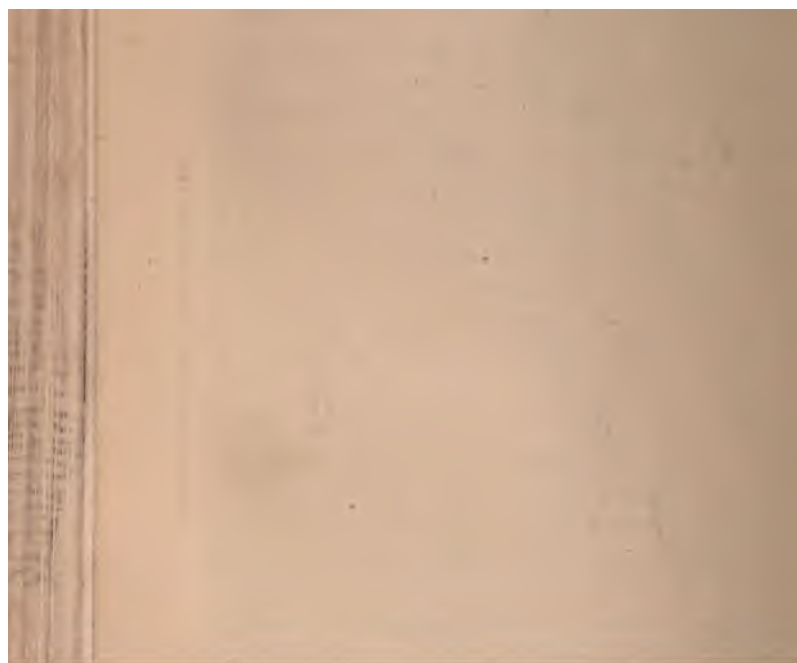
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The memory of Vanderkemp is still green in South Africa; I heard there many stories of his primitive simplicity of character, unyielding zeal, and never-failing piety. Moffat and Livingstone are names that also do honour to the South African Mission roll of this Society.

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of the charge of independent Kaffraria, which has been formed into a separate diocese, we may confidently hope that before long the Church will be in possession of all the ground it can possibly occupy. The agencies for accomplishing this are already in existence, and need but development, and points of vantage have been secured from whence the Church may complete her conquests.

First amongst the missionary agencies that are so full of promise is the Kaffir Institution, which was founded by Bishop Cotterill in 1860, with the view of educating the more promising of the pupils from the Mission schools for the office of schoolmasters and teachers. It affords accommodation for sixty students; thirty-five are at this present moment in residence, and there are numerous candidates for admission. The students come from all parts of Southern Africa. They belong to the Kaffir, Fingo, Basutu, Bechauna, Barolong, Bathlaping, and Matabele tribes. Between thirty and forty young men who have been trained at this institution are now working amongst their own people as catechists and schoolmasters. Two have been ordained deacons, and there are several most promising students who are anxious to devote their lives to the work of the ministry in the Church. A native ministry for South Africa is a necessity, for it is impossible to keep up a sufficient supply of European missionaries and schoolmasters; and though we are bound to establish the Church amongst the natives, in order that it may prove a lasting blessing,







it must, when established, be maintained by themselves.

The oldest, and one of the most prosperous Missions in Grahamstown is that of St. Matthew, at Keiskama Hoek. In connection with this Mission there is a large training institution for girls, of a similar nature to the Kaffir Institution at Grahamstown for boys, and six day-schools. Most of the teachers at these schools (who are all natives) act also as catechists, holding regular services at their stations, and visiting the kraals in their neighbourhood. The missionary visits these places at stated periods to administer the Holy Communion, to hold services, and to make himself acquainted with the progress of the schools. The number of communicants is above 150; but in order to estimate correctly all who are connected with this Mission, more or less advanced in the Christian life, we must multiply this figure tenfold.

The other centres of Mission work are St. Luke's, Newlands, which is situated, like St. Matthew's, in one of the native reserves; St. John's, Kabousie; St. John the Baptist at Bolotwa; St. Peter's, Gwaitu; and St. Philip's, Grahamstown. Besides which, town Missions are in operation amongst the natives at Port Elizabeth, Graff Reinet, Queenstown, and Fort Beaufort, and arrangements are being made to open a Mission in King William's Town, which is the great centre of the native population of the colony.

The new diocese of Independent Kaffraria, which lies between the frontiers of Cape Colony and those



of Natal, has an area of about 30,000 square miles, and contains about 600,000 inhabitants. These consist of various tribes of natives, of which the more important are the Pondos, the Tambookies, the Galeka, and the Fingoes. Of the above, the Pondos are the most numerous, numbering, it is supposed, 200,000 souls.

In this extensive country there are five important stations of the Church, viz., St. Mark's, St. Alban's, All Saints', St. Augustine's, and Clydesdale.

The station at St. Mark's is the centre of a widely extended and vigorous religious and civilised life. There are connected with this Mission 4,000 adult natives, of whom nearly 1,000 are communicants, 1,000 school children, twenty-eight out stations under native catechists and schoolmasters, and three native deacons. There are twelve young men under training at the Grahamstown Kaffir Institution, and nine at the Lovedale Seminary. During the year 1873 about £400 was contributed by the native converts towards the expenses of the Mission, besides funds for church-building purposes.

The following extracts from the Journal of Canon Waters, who has been in charge of this Mission since 1857, and was at that time the only missionary of our Church between the Great Kei and the Umkomanzi, will serve to show the position which the native Christians now occupy :—

“*October 1.*—Teachers' quarterly meeting. These meetings have tended greatly to uniformity and zeal

in carrying on the work of the Society. Questions of every kind are discussed—school management, funds, discipline, successes and failures, all are openly discussed. The question of the use of Missions or revivals is frequently a subject of deep interest. The chief objection seems to be that of persons professing Christianity under excitement, and then falling away. These Missions have been successful in many instances on our stations. Some persons have continued all night in prayer, and generally there seems to have been a good permanent influence exercised. The subject of compulsory education is one which all native teachers are anxious to see carried out, and I certainly feel more inclined to their view than I formerly did. The enforced attendance of teachers can only be done through the chief, and unless he were paid for exerting his power, no good could result. Some would follow the Mohammedan or Wahabbean principle of excluding from communion all who touch intoxicating liquors. The question of self-support in our Church is discussed, under some form or other, at all these meetings, and is beginning to tell in the offertory. As every teacher gives either a written or verbal account of his past quarter's work and difficulties, a united interest is maintained, and drooping hearts are refreshed. Advice as to books and magazines is given. It may interest the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to know that twenty-five copies of the *Mission Field* are subscribed for by the native teachers of this Mission. Five English papers,

and twenty-seven copies of the *Kaffir Express*, are also subscribed for. If a depôt of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge could be established in Kaffirland, a vast number of books would be sold. I have this year sold more than fifty pounds' worth, including Prayer-books.

"December 3.—There were special services at all our Missions this day, and £11 19s. 9½d. collected, and sent by the Bishop's directions to the Kaffir Institution, Grahamstown. The services at St. Mark's were conducted by the Rev. P. Masica (one of the native clergy). I was at St. Leonard's, on the Tsomo, where a large heathen congregation gathered in the chapel. Afterwards I celebrated the Holy Communion with thirteen persons. Rode to Cuba, and next day held service with a large congregation; twenty-seven communicants present. After holding a meeting of Church members for raising local funds, I went to the Kei to visit a sick person. The paths I took were rough and romantic, but the intense heat, like hunger, took off the edge of a taste for the sublime and beautiful. After a winding and a rough ride, I got to a school kept by one of our female teachers. The chief, Ngcongola, had been waiting for me, and had left an hour before my arrival. Next morning the chief came as I was examining the school. There are thirty-five children in the school, and they are doing well. This school is in one of the most out-of-the-way corners that can be imagined, and is indeed a light in a dark place. I really felt

thankful to the good girl for teaching at all, and for teaching so well. Hubert Xoxo was with me, and refreshed me greatly by conversing with a young man who is asking what he shall do to be saved. The chief and his staff rode up the Klooffs, and along several unpleasantly dangerous ridges, to the boundary of his location, where I visited a sick man. Descending by a winding path into the Chief Bak's location, I was most kindly welcomed by him and his family, and by the catechist, Joseph Krayi. During my stay here, an abundance of food and good things were sent to me. There were about sixty persons in the hut chapel. The people have built the huts for the chapel and the teacher's house, and pay six pounds a year towards the school. There are thirty-nine children in the school."

These illustrations will serve to show what the character of the Church's Mission work in South Africa is, and what is its extent in the dioceses of Grahamstown and Kaffraria, where, perhaps, the greatest number of heathens accessible to our influence are to be found. The same sort of operations are being carried on in Capetown, Maritzburg, and Bloemfontein dioceses. In the large towns, and in the outlying villages, where the natives cluster in great numbers around their chiefs, and also at the isolated kraals, the missionaries of our Church are now labouring. For years many obstacles to the progress of Christianity existed in South Africa—the ill-will of the colonists, and the repeated wars with the natives

being the greatest ; but these obstacles are now overcome, and are not likely to be raised again, and Christianity is taking root, and bearing much fruit, directly in the number of converts made, and indirectly in its influence for good, even where it has not yet been accepted.

The number of converts actually made in South Africa under the British protectorate may not be great. Representing every form of Christianity, it is supposed that about three per cent. of the entire native population are Christians ; but the actual conversions do no more indicate the wide-spread good that is accomplished by Missions, than the number of our communicants in England indicates the vast amount of good done by the general ministrations of the Church, and the institutions of a Christian civilisation. Wherever Missions are established, their influence reaches far beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the stations, and the changes for the better that are wrought through their agency are greater than can be well estimated. They tend to check oppression, and to raise the standard of life even amongst the heathen ; they establish hospitals, and impart education ; they encourage industry, and direct it into lawful channels. The converts may not be immediately numerous, but Missions gradually yet surely prepare the way for the coming of Christ into the hearts of thousands.

Beyond the districts I have mentioned, there are other Mission fields of the Church in Southern and

East Central Africa. The Zululand Mission, or, as it is most frequently called, "The Mackenzie Memorial Mission," has a history of its own, than which none is better known. Previous to the consecration of the Rev. T. E. Wilkinson, as Bishop of this Mission, the Rev. R. Robertson had laboured for ten years amongst the Zulus. He and his colleagues had, by their untiring, wise, and loving exertions, prepared the way for the establishment of the Church in the completeness of its organisation in Zululand. The results of their labours may be thus summarised. Death was no longer the penalty incurred by a Zulu who became a Christian. Witchcraft was not so frequently punished with death. There was much less cruelty practised. Witch doctors were not so numerous. Missionaries, who were formerly distrusted, were looked upon by the Zulus as their best friends. For many miles around the Mission stations many of the heathenish habits and customs of the heathen had been superseded by others more in conformity with our holy religion. Schools for the education of children and adults had been established, and converts had been made. And though during the last five years the progress of this Mission has not been seemingly great, its boundaries have been enlarged by the sending of missionaries into the Amaswazi country, and the opening of a new Mission on the Zulu side of the Tugela river (the boundary of Natal and Zululand), where there are a greater number of white and half-caste families settled than in any part of the Zulu country.

That the influence of the missionaries, and especially that of Mr. Robertson, is great in the prevention of evil, the following incident will show. Two oxen belonging to the king, which had long been at Kwamagwaza, in the care of one of the people, were stolen. To steal cattle in Zululand, especially the king's cattle, is one of the gravest offences that can be committed, and is punished with death. The cattle having been in the care of a man at Kwamagwaza, the community of that place was responsible for them, and, by the law of common responsibility, they were liable to be "eaten up" if the thief was not produced. After much search, it was discovered that the cattle had been sold at the Tugela by a Kaffir. The oxen were recovered, and the man who sold them found, and, probably, beaten to death. But before his punishment, he said that one of the Christian men at Kwamagwaza had employed him to sell them. This was untrue, but though protesting his innocence, the man thus denounced saw that it was impossible to clear himself, and agreed to "eat himself up," that is, to give up all his cattle, thankful to escape with his life. Mr. Robertson having assured himself of the man's innocence, desired the king's representative on this occasion to report the whole matter to his master, and to say that he had known the man who had been accused for eighteen years, and during the whole of that time no one could point to a single dishonest act which he had done. The conclusion of the matter is thus related by Mr. Robertson: "During the time



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Of openings for fresh missionary enterprise in South Africa there are several. The Transvaal is notably one such, and second to it in importance is Namaqualand. Both these districts there is good reason to hope will soon possess their own bishop. Thus the



Church proceeds in this part of the world, sending forth her pioneers of the Gospel, then putting forth additional strength as the occasion requires, and finally adding another region to her possessions.

But there are other parts of Africa than those I have yet reviewed to which an especial attention has been directed by the Mission which was originally intended to follow up the discoveries of Dr. Livingstone, viz., the Universities' Mission to Central Africa; with which during the first four years of its history it was my privilege to be connected. This Mission was originally sent to the tribes who inhabit the highland regions adjacent to the river Shire and the Lake Nyassa. In its mode of working, it was intended to combine with directly religious work instruction of the natives in the arts of civilised life. And, notwithstanding our sorrowful experience, which is too well known to need recapitulation here, I am firmly convinced that this is the true method of Mission work amongst the barbarous races of Africa. The civilisation of Africa must be accomplished contemporaneously with its evangelisation. This is the consentient testimony of men who, as statesmen, travellers, merchants, and missionaries, are really conversant with the character and needs of the Africans. How this may be best accomplished, whether from the base of Christian colonies only, or by Missions that have no such base to rest upon, but which penetrate the heart of heathendom, and contain within themselves all the appliances of civilised as well as of Christian life, is

a question upon which there is a great diversity of opinion. In the case of the Universities' Mission, where it was intended to enter upon the field which Livingstone's discoveries had opened out, the only course that could be followed was that originally pursued. That it was not altogether an unwise proceeding is, I think, shown by the fact that the Established and Free Kirks of Scotland have united to send out a Mission to the very same country which the Universities' Mission first occupied, having the very same objects in view. If this Scotch Mission had been placed under the care of men who were ignorant of the country to which it is sent, and of the work which it is destined to do, this fact might not have much significance. But both the religious and industrial leaders of this venture have an intimate knowledge of the land, and the difficulties that have to be surmounted. The one is Dr. Stewart of Lovedale, whom I have already mentioned, the other is Mr. Young, who was for some time chief officer of Dr. Livingstone's ship *Pioneer*, and afterwards the leader of the Livingstone Search Expedition. Had the Universities' Mission been maintained in the position which it originally occupied, I believe by this time it would have effected a vast change for good amongst the tribes of that part of the country; but its head-quarters having been removed to Zanzibar in 1864, the course of events since then appears to point out that from that base of operations the Mission may now be best directed.

Until just lately, however, the Mission at Zanzibar has not been in a position to undertake regular work on the mainland; but there has been no lack of zeal on the part of the missionaries; there has been devotion even unto death; and no brighter examples of self-sacrifice than have been afforded by Drayton, Frazer, Handcock, Pennell, West, and James, can be found in modern missionary enterprise.

The following extract from an official report on the subject of the disposal of liberated slaves, by Sir Bartle Frere, which was presented to Parliament in 1873, describes the Universities' Mission at Zanzibar when he was there:—

“The Universities' Mission was originally organised by Bishop Mackenzie, in 1860, as a Mission to the tribes of the Shiré and Lake Nyassa. Its headquarters were established by his successor, Bishop Tozer, in 1864, at Zanzibar, where they have now commodious mission-houses, schools, two small plots of ground for cultivation, and a printing press.

“On the mainland they have, at Magila, a small house and plot of land, in charge of a native catechist, a long day's journey inland from Morongo, a small port north of the Pangani River. The station is in the district called Mtangata, in the Usambara country, in the territory of a native chief who considers himself independent of Zanzibar. It is capable of indefinite extension, and is extremely well placed for communication with the interior.

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train selected lads for school teaching and for pastoral missionary work, giving, for this purpose, a good deal of attention to both English and the native languages.

"In both respects they have been successful; a fair proportion of the pupils have a useful knowledge of English, and all have learned to read and write their own language, or at least Swaheli, the general language of the coast, in English character, in a manner which has hardly been attempted by other Missions, and which leaves little to be desired.

"This is mainly due to the labours of Dr. Steere, which are more fully described below. He has furnished any one who can read English with the means of thoroughly mastering Swaheli, the most generally useful of East African languages, and greatly facilitated the acquisition of three others commonly spoken by slaves.

"Very excellent work, in these languages and in English, is turned out at the Mission Press, the whole being composed, set up, and printed by negro lads and young men.

"It is difficult to overestimate the value of Dr. Steere's labours in these two branches of Mission work; and nothing more seems wanting in either, than to continue and extend what has been so well begun.

"In the benefits of both, as most important auxiliaries in the suppression of the slave trade, and in the general civilisation of East Africa, the Government partly participates. It is to this Mission also that we

must, for the present, mainly look for a supply of well-educated interpreters, able to read and write both English and Swaheli.

“Judged as a whole, for secular purposes, such as the disposal of liberated slaves, the main defect of the Mission seems to me to be the want of more industrial teaching in mechanical arts or agriculture ; many even of the best-selected lads have absolutely no capacity for intellectual acquirement by means of reading and writing ; and I have heard of what were called ‘lamentable failures,’ so-called, simply because a boy who was quite willing to work in the fields for his living, but had no capacity for any but bodily exercises, ran away from his lessons.

“If I might presume to advise the Bishop and his missionaries, I would introduce a far larger industrial element into their schools. Every one should learn a trade, a mechanical art of some kind, or sufficient of agriculture to support himself. The teaching might be such as a good native artisan, or mechanic, or cultivator could impart ; to which might be added, tentatively and with caution, instruction in European methods and the use of European tools, which are not invariably adapted to African habits and necessities. Every boy should, I think, be taught to make himself useful in building a hut, in cultivating, in managing a boat, and mending his own clothes and shoes, and his nets and fishing-tackle, &c., after the native fashion, with European improvements only when clearly seen to be better than native ways.

“Elementary instruction, sufficient to read and write in their own language, might probably be imparted, to all; but only the apter pupils should be required to learn English.

“There is room for something being done in this way on the ground which Bishop Tozer has already acquired, but more space is needed, and might be acquired on the island or on the mainland, if the plans for extension which the Mission has in view can be carried out.

“On the island it might be found in a small ‘shamba’ or plantation, such as the Consul would have to provide for the temporary reception of any batch of liberated slaves which might be brought in, pending adjudication or awaiting distribution. The Consul, instead of himself undertaking the maintenance of such a plantation, might make it over to be managed by the Mission, if the latter were able to undertake it, and the arrangement might be made an economical one for both parties.

“Nothing could be better placed, for all the purposes which the Government has in view, than the missionary outpost at Magila, on the borders of the Usambara country. But unless Mr. Allington, the missionary who selected this station, should return, the Mission must be strengthened, and some time must elapse before it would be safe to send thither liberated slaves.

“The same may be said of Dar-es-Salem, about midway between the delta of the Lufigi and the delta of the Kingani, near Bagamoyo—to the occupation

of which, as a station on the mainland, the attention of the Universities' Mission has been for some time directed.

"In its present state, this Mission could take charge of a considerable number of children at Zanzibar, if they were gradually added to the present charge; and I understand from Dr. Steere that almost any number which is likely to offer could be taken in charge, if some notice were given to prepare for their reception."

At the juncture to which Sir Bartle Frere refers, Bishop Tozer had, through ill-health, virtually retired from the Mission, which was in reality represented by Dr. Steere, he at that time having no clerical co-adjutor. The following information with respect to the operations of the Mission was given to Sir Bartle Frere by Dr. Steere :—

"The Universities' Mission has had under its care, since its arrival at Zanzibar, 78 boys and 32 girls, in all 110 children; of these, all except five boys, were released slaves, fourteen of the boys were taken out of slave dhows by Seyyid Majid, and put by him under the care of the Mission; two boys and one girl were procured by Europeans (not British subjects) residing in Zanzibar, and given over by them to the Mission; the rest were all taken by English men-of-war. Nineteen children have died; three of the girls are married; two of the boys are sub-deacons—one is at the Magila station, the other is preparing to go there; one old scholar is chief assistant in the printing office, another



is employed about the Mission premises, one is engaged as servant to Bishop Tozer, four are in service in the town of Zanzibar, three are engaged as pupil-teachers in the school, four have in various ways turned out badly. Forty-two boys and twenty-two girls are now in the schools."

Since this report was penned, Bishop Tozer has resigned, and Dr. Steere, who arrived on the 4th of August, 1874, in England, was consecrated Bishop on St. Bartholomew's day. During the short time he remained in England, he succeeded in getting together a goodly number of missionaries, clerical and lay, and he is now enabled to recommence work on a more extended scale.

Bishop Steere appears to take a broad view of the work he has to do, and intends to plant stations on the mainland, and to provide the children at Zanzibar with an education more in accordance with Sir Bartle Frere's suggestions than the course hitherto pursued.

The old Mission premises have been abandoned; the site of the old slave market purchased, on which church, schools, hospital, have been erected; and there seems good reason to hope that the bright promise of this Mission at its inauguration will, with the blessing of God, be fulfilled. In the devotion of its missionaries, it could give no more encouraging example.

In a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, dated July 1, 1875, Bishop Steere, who writes from Zanzibar, says:—



That the influence of the missionaries, and especially that of Mr. Robertson, is great in the prevention of evil, the following incident will show. Two oxen belonging to the king, which had long been at Kwamagwaza, in the care of one of the people, were stolen. To steal cattle in Zululand, especially the king's cattle, is one of the gravest offences that can be committed, and is punished with death. The cattle having been in the care of a man at Kwamagwaza, the community of that place was responsible for them, and, by the law of common responsibility, they were liable to be "eaten up" if the thief was not produced. After much search, it was discovered that the cattle had been sold at the Tugela by a Kaffir. The oxen were recovered, and the man who sold them found, and, probably, beaten to death. But before his punishment, he said that one of the Christian men at Kwamagwaza had employed him to sell them. This was untrue, but though protesting his innocence, the man thus denounced saw that it was impossible to clear himself, and agreed to "eat himself up," that is, to give up all his cattle, thankful to escape with his life. Mr. Robertson having assured himself of the man's innocence, desired the king's representative on this occasion to report the whole matter to his master, and to say that he had known the man who had been accused for eighteen years, and during the whole of that time no one could point to a single dishonest act which he had done. The conclusion of the matter is thus related by Mr. Robertson: "During the time

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In a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, dated July 1, 1875, Bishop Steere, who writes from Zanzibar, says:—

That the influence of the missionaries, and especially that of Mr. Robertson, is great in the prevention of evil, the following incident will show. Two oxen belonging to the king, which had long been at Kwamagwaza, in the care of one of the people, were stolen. To steal cattle in Zululand, especially the king's cattle, is one of the gravest offences that can be committed, and is punished with death. The cattle having been in the care of a man at Kwamagwaza, the community of that place was responsible for them, and, by the law of common responsibility, they were liable to be "eaten up" if the thief was not produced. After much search, it was discovered that the cattle had been sold at the Tugela by a Kaffir. The oxen were recovered, and the man who sold them found, and, probably, beaten to death. But before his punishment, he said that one of the Christian men at Kwamagwaza had employed him to sell them. This was untrue, but though protesting his innocence, the man thus denounced saw that it was impossible to clear himself, and agreed to "eat himself up," that is, to give up all his cattle, thankful to escape with his life. Mr. Robertson having assured himself of the man's innocence, desired the king's representative on this occasion to report the whole matter to his master, and to say that he had known the man who had been accused for eighteen years, and during the whole of that time no one could point to a single dishonest act which he had done. The conclusion of the matter is thus related by Mr. Robertson: "During the time

Ubaleni (the king's representative) was away, everybody was in a state of much excitement as to what action the king might take. You may imagine, then, the relief it was to hear Ubaleni's first words, 'It is all right.' The king said, 'Tell Umzimela (Mr. Robertson's Kaffir name, which means the one who can stand alone) I quite agree that no case has been proven. Let be. The thief will be found the next time. When I kill any one at Kwamagwaza, I shall first let him know, and if I "eat up" any one, I shall do the same.' He also told Ubaleni to lecture the people here, and charge them to be careful as to their conduct, and also to look after one another well, and to show their confidence in us. He intends to send another pair of oxen to stay at Kwamagwaza. 'God save the king!' The people came in a body to say how thankful they were. 'We now breathe again,' was on every lip."

The foundations of the Church are being laid sure and strong in Zululand, and though seemingly long delayed, the conversion of the Zulus will not tarry. When they are gained to God—a consummation that prayer will assuredly hasten—they will, with their great natural gifts, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, be mighty instruments in the extension of Christ's kingdom.

Of openings for fresh missionary enterprise in South Africa there are several. The Transvaal is notably one such, and second to it in importance is Namaqualand. Both these districts there is good reason to hope will soon possess their own bishop. Thus the

Church proceeds in this part of the world forth her pioneers of the Gospel, then put additional strength as the occasion requires, finally adding another region to her possessions.

But there are other parts of Africa that have yet reviewed to which an especial attention has been directed by the Mission which was intended to follow up the discoveries of Istone, viz., the Universities' Mission to Africa; with which during the first four years of its history it was my privilege to be connected. The Mission was originally sent to the tribes within the highland regions adjacent to the river Shire and Lake Nyassa. In its mode of working, it was intended to combine with directly religious work instruction in the arts of civilised life. And standing our sorrowful experience, which is known to need recapitulation here, I am firmly convinced that this is the true method of Mission amongst the barbarous races of Africa. The civilisation of Africa must be accomplished contemporaneously with its evangelisation. This is the consentient opinion of men who, as statesmen, travellers, merchants, and missionaries, are really conversant with the conditions and needs of the Africans. How this may be accomplished, whether from the base of the colonies only, or by Missions that have no other base than to rest upon, but which penetrate the heart of the continent, and contain within themselves the appliances of civilised as well as of Christian life.

a question upon which there is a great diversity of opinion. In the case of the Universities' Mission, where it was intended to enter upon the field which Livingstone's discoveries had opened out, the only course that could be followed was that originally pursued. That it was not altogether an unwise proceeding is, I think, shown by the fact that the Established and Free Kirks of Scotland have united to send out a Mission to the very same country which the Universities' Mission first occupied, having the very same objects in view. If this Scotch Mission had been placed under the care of men who were ignorant of the country to which it is sent, and of the work which it is destined to do, this fact might not have much significance. But both the religious and industrial leaders of this venture have an intimate knowledge of the land, and the difficulties that have to be surmounted. The one is Dr. Stewart of Lovedale, whom I have already mentioned, the other is Mr. Young, who was for some time chief officer of Dr. Livingstone's ship *Pioneer*, and afterwards the leader of the Livingstone Search Expedition. Had the Universities' Mission been maintained in the position which it originally occupied, I believe by this time it would have effected a vast change for good amongst the tribes of that part of the country; but its head-quarters having been removed to Zanzibar in 1864, the course of events since then appears to point out that from that base of operations the Mission may now be best directed.

Until just lately, however, the Mission at Zanzibar has not been in a position to undertake regular work on the mainland ; but there has been no lack of zeal on the part of the missionaries ; there has been devotion even unto death ; and no brighter examples of self-sacrifice than have been afforded by Drayton, Frazer, Handcock, Pennell, West, and James, can be found in modern missionary enterprise.

The following extract from an official report on the subject of the disposal of liberated slaves, by Sir Bartle Frere, which was presented to Parliament in 1873, describes the Universities' Mission at Zanzibar when he was there :—

“The Universities' Mission was originally organised by Bishop Mackenzie, in 1860, as a Mission to the tribes of the Shiré and Lake Nyassa. Its headquarters were established by his successor, Bishop Tozer, in 1864, at Zanzibar, where they have now commodious mission-houses, schools, two small plots of ground for cultivation, and a printing press.

“On the mainland they have, at Magila, a small house and plot of land, in charge of a native catechist, a long day's journey inland from Morongo, a small port north of the Pangani River. The station is in the district called Mtangata, in the Usambara country, in the territory of a native chief who considers himself independent of Zanzibar. It is capable of indefinite extension, and is extremely well placed for communication with the interior.

“The missionaries have laboured at Zanzibar to



train selected lads for school teaching and for pastoral missionary work, giving, for this purpose, a good deal of attention to both English and the native languages.

"In both respects they have been successful ; a fair proportion of the pupils have a useful knowledge of English, and all have learned to read and write their own language, or at least Swaheli, the general language of the coast, in English character, in a manner which has hardly been attempted by other Missions, and which leaves little to be desired.

"This is mainly due to the labours of Dr. Steere, which are more fully described below. He has furnished any one who can read English with the means of thoroughly mastering Swaheli, the most generally useful of East African languages, and greatly facilitated the acquisition of three others commonly spoken by slaves.

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In a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, dated July 1, 1875, Bishop Steere, who writes from Zanzibar, says:—

"I am glad to be able to report very well indeed of our present work and prospects. We have taken under our charge all the cargoes of slaves which have been taken since our return. We have now, besides all our schools, nearly one hundred adults, who are bringing our Mbweni estate into excellent order. They all attend at a mission service which is held specially for them on Sundays, and between twenty and thirty have come forward as candidates for Holy Baptism ; they are now being regularly instructed by one of our sub-deacons. The new coadjutors have enabled us to work effectively both our boys' and our girls' school, and we have been able to separate the very little ones, so as to form a nursery.

"On Monday next I hope to make two of our native scholars and three of our younger European readers, so as to give them a regular standing in the church, and enable them to feel that they are on their way to higher work for God. Our sub-deacons and those two intended readers have been most useful as interpreters in our mission services. We have, on the ground attached to our boys' school, five couples of released slaves, who are all catechumens ; and there is a brotherhood among the boys, who have made it a special work of theirs to teach these adults to read.

"From Usambara we hear that all is peaceful near Magila, and that the chief whom they recognise is becoming the strongest of his race. Immediately after the ordination of the readers, I hope to be off to Magila.

"From the Nyassa country (where it is proposed to

establish a station), we hear that the whole of the east side of the lake is likely soon to be under the power of a single chief, rather a young man, named Makan-gila, who was the first of his race to drive back the Mariti, or Mazitu.

"Chuma and Susi have engaged themselves to us, as they absolutely refuse to join any other party than our own. We are full of hope, but we want men. The Nyassa Mission cannot get on without another clergyman or two and several schoolmasters, nor can they be supported without considerably increased funds.

"No one who has not been on the spot can judge of the value of our central situation. We are under the eye of the British Consul-General, we are open to the criticism of everybody, and one chief can overlook several distinct establishments.

"The catechumens' classes and mission preachings among our released slaves are the most valuable training our European students can have. Only this last week sixteen slaves were taken by Her Majesty's ship *London*, and Major Smith wished to send them to Mombas, but could find no good means of sending, so that he was very glad to send them to us instead.

"The work grows, and must grow; pray for us that we may not fail, and that money and men may come to our need."

Chuma and Susi, it will be remembered, were the companions of Dr. Livingstone during his last nine years of travel, and it was owing to their fidelity and devotion that his papers were preserved and his

remains were brought to England. They visited England in 1874, and all who met them were favourably impressed with their character and intelligence. Chuma was released from the slave-dealers by Bishop Mackenzie and his party, and was under my immediate care until I left Africa. Susi was not connected with the Mission, but was adopted by Dr. Livingstone.

At Bagamoyo, which is on the mainland opposite Zanzibar, there is a French Mission of several years' standing. The governing body of this Mission, according to a report furnished to Sir Bartle Frere by the Superior, is composed of (1) the Community of St. Joseph of Zanzibar, possessing two priests and four brothers, with one lay professor of music; (2) the Community of Notre Dame de Bagamoyo, comprising four priests, eight brothers, and twelve sisters, with two lay brothers employed in agriculture.

There were, in 1873, under this Mission 324 Africans; of these 73 were adults and 251 children.

These boys, besides receiving an education suitable to their capacity, are instructed in arts, trades, and agriculture; the girls have a course of study arranged to meet their aptitude for learning, work in the fields, and are taught sewing and other domestic duties.

Connected with this Mission is a small seminary of nineteen pupils at Zanzibar for the education of a native clergy.

At Mombas the Church Missionary Society has maintained a Mission for upwards of thirty years. For



some time Mr. Rebman was the only missionary there, but lately a special effort has been made for the extension of this Mission, with the view of making it a camp of refuge for liberated slaves, and doing in Eastern Africa what has been so well done in the West. Mr. Rebman, who has been in East Africa since 1846, is probably one of the most learned, as well as the oldest missionaries in this part of the world.

The Methodist Free Churches have a Mission at Ribe, just north of Mombas; but at neither of these places have any great inroads been as yet made upon the false religions there found.

In Northern Africa but little or no missionary effort has yet been made to recover the lost positions of the Church. The French invaded and subdued Algiers nearly fifty years ago, it is true; but, for the conversion of the various races brought under their rule, they seem to make not much effort. A few isolated efforts are being made in Egypt, for which those engaged in them are alone responsible, and which, therefore, have but little of the element of permanence.

I have thus given a sketch—a very imperfect one, I feel it to be—of the position which Christianity now occupies in Africa. As yet we seem to have barely got beyond the stage of preparatory work. The foundations, however, have been laid wisely and well, and already the first-fruits of our toil promise an abundant harvest.

The fight will be hard, the strife prolonged, before the victory is gained. Not only have we to wage war



against the superstitions and ignorance of the heathen Africans, but we have to meet and overcome the efforts of the Mohammedans.

The whole of North Africa, with the exception of Algiers, is still theirs. The Soudan and some of the regions adjacent have been won by them ; and there are many who think that, in direct missionary work, they are successfully disputing with us for the possession of the rest of the continent not under British rule. But Livingstone says in his "Last Journals":—

"No better authority for what has been done or left undone by Mohammedans in this country can be found than Mohammed bin Saleh (an Arab, whose acquaintance he made), for he is very intelligent, and takes an interest in all that happens, and his father was equally interested in this country's affairs. He declares that no attempt was even made to proselytise the Africans. They teach their own children to read the Koran, but them only ; it is never translated, and to servants who go to the Mosque it is all dumb show. Some servants imbibe Mohammedan bigotry about eating, but they offer no prayers. Circumcision, to make *palel*, or fit to slaughter the animals for their master, is the utmost advances any have made. The indispensable requisite or qualification for any kind of missionary is that we have some wish to proselytise : this the Arabs do not profess in the slightest degree."

In *Eastern Africa as a Field for Missionary Labour*, Sir Bartle Frere expresses the opinion that in East Africa Mohammedanism is not an advancing religion

in the same sense, or in the same degree as Christianity. He has no doubt that in this part of the continent, as in India and elsewhere, the Mohammedan religion bears all the marks of a decaying creed.

Dr. Schweinfurth bears similar testimony to that of Livingstone, with respect to the position which the Mohammedans occupy towards the natives in the Egyptian Soudan and other regions of the Nile. It is true that some Wahabbean missionaries have lately arrived in Central Africa with the intention of converting the heathen tribes to their view of Islamism; but this is but a fitful effort of zeal, and will do very little to counteract the general indifference to the propagation of their faith which now characterises the Mohammedans in Africa. They may keep what they have gained for many years to come; but I have no fear that they will materially increase their possessions, save in Abyssinia.

Many think that the progress of Christianity in Africa is unsatisfactory, that there should have been greater results from the efforts that have been made; I do not think with them.

The results, to my mind, seem more than equal to the agency that has been employed. The actual number of converts may not be great in comparison with the population of the continent, but the indirect results of Mission work in Africa are leading up to great changes in the religious and social condition of thousands of the natives who have not as yet declared

themselves Christians. For every convert made there are probably hundreds who, by slow degrees, are being led away from heathenism. The conversion of Africa may not be accomplished for centuries ; but the good work has been begun, and will never again be arrested. Through the enterprise of Christian travellers and Christian missionaries, Africa has at length been unveiled, and generation after generation will see Christianity enlarging her borders in Africa, winning new regions to the kingdom of Christ, until the whole land be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

THE END.

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## APPENDIX.

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SINCE the foregoing pages were in type, Lieutenant Cameron has returned from Africa, after having traversed the continent from east to west, and has made us acquainted with the results of his great journey.

It would seem that he has discovered, beyond reasonable doubt, that the Lualaba (which Livingstone so fondly hoped would prove to be connected with the Nile) and the Congo are the same, and that Lake Tanganyika is the fountain of this magnificent river. I say, beyond reasonable doubt—for though it may be objected that he was not able to follow this mighty stream from its departure from the lake to its debouchment into the Atlantic, and that he has not, therefore, conclusively established its identity, yet he saw enough of it, and the country through which it flows, to warrant the conclusions at which he has arrived.

But he has discovered more than this. He has ascertained that though the river systems of the Zambezi and of the Lualaba (or Congo) are distinct, yet they come so close to one another that, after an unusually heavy rainfall, they sometimes actually meet;

#### APPENDIX.

and he asserts that they could certainly be connected by a canal of not more than thirty miles in length. If his conjectures on this subject be correct, this is a discovery that is calculated to produce great results, for it shows that a water communication across the continent is possible and probable. Probable, and for this reason: the regions through which he passed are, for the most part, richly stored—beyond all that we had hitherto imagined—with vegetable and mineral productions; and he declares that the climate of this vast highland watershed need be no more prejudicial to European constitutions than that of India. He believes that the water systems of the Congo and the Zambezi are destined to effect a revolution in Africa, even more important than that caused by the introduction of railways into England; and as he is not a visionary enthusiast, but a man of careful observation and a scientific geographer, I for one do not doubt the accomplishment of this revolution, though it may be longer delayed than he now anticipates.

The progress of discovery in Africa is making great and rapid strides. It is not improbable that before this little book is given to the public, another great achievement may have to be chronicled. The cruise lately undertaken by Mr. E. D. Young, R.N., around Lake Nyassa, has resulted in extending our knowledge of that sheet of water, proving, as it does, that it has a much larger area than that attributed to it by Livingstone. Stanley, too, has already circumnavigated the Victoria Nyanza, and has ascertained

#### *APPENDIX.*

that it is not merely the backwater of the Albert Nyanza, as some thought it, or a collection of comparatively insignificant lakes, as others declared it to be, but a lake more magnificent in its proportions and capacity for navigation than its discoverer, Captain Speke, imagined it; and Stanley is now attempting to do for the Albert Nyanza what he has so successfully accomplished for the Victoria. Whether he succeed or fail, if he be spared to make known to us the results of his efforts, we may be well assured that our knowledge of the lake system of Africa will be largely increased. Cameron's forecast of the revolution destined to be accomplished by the water systems of the Congo and the Zambezi, may well be supplemented by a forecast of the revolution which will be wrought in other regions of Africa, when the great lakes, which afford opportunities to commerce and Christianity even greater than those afforded by the rivers, shall bear on their bosoms ships as numerous and as capacious as those which are now found on the lakes of America.



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